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ABSTRACT

This monograph presents articles and materials which examine the relevant theoretical literature pertaining to career counseling services for adults. It reviews alternative ways to deliver career guidance to adults and identifies a set of researchable issues. The two articles in section 1, The Context, address the historical development of people and work and look at key policy considerations affecting adult career/occupational services. Section 2, The Theories, consolidates and examines pertinent adult and career development theories. A terse, basic explanation of major ideas of key theorists is made. Another article discusses basic themes, theoretical issues, and interrelationships. An article follows that aims to improve current constructs for understanding adult career development. Section 3, The Clients, explores the known and potential recipients of career guidance. Following an article which discusses ways to think of special populations is a series of descriptions of the unique characteristics of some special adult groups--women, minorities, mid-life career changers, pre-retired and retired, marginal workers, criminal offenders, and disabled workers. Section 4, The Programs describes documented adult career guidance needs and programs being offered to meet them. Several articles focus on key issues of delivering services to adults, such as staffing and evaluation. (YLB)

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Research and Development No. 181

PERSPECTIVES ON ADULT CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND GUIDANCE

Compiled and Edited by

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and

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U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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FOREWORD

The need for career and vocational guidance among American adults has increased significantly. Career patterns are less stable. People are more mobile than ever before and, as such, are more willing to make job changes. Our nation's economy is diverse and offers many opportunities. People not only have choices of jobs but may, in fact, be forced to find different work because of the dyamics of the economy and labor force. Recent attention has focused on the career development needs in order to assist people in achieving well-adjusted and productive lives.

This monograph is an exposition of current practice, career development theory, and needed research. It contributes to the state of the art by comparing and contrasting extant adult development theory and career development theory, exploring existing adult career guidance practices, and recommending researchable topics.

The National Center acknowledges the support of this timely project of the Home, Community, and Work Division of the National Institute of Education. Special recognition is due Dr. Robert E. Campbell, his staff, and the many contributors who are identified in the acknowledgments for what will prove to be a valuable contribution to the advancement of our understanding of people and work.

Robert E. Taylor
Executive Director
The National Center for Research
in Vocational Education

PREFACE

The development of adults has been a topic for study most of this century but only recently, has it become popular to view adult development from the viewpoint of work. The National Institute of Education and the National Center for Research in Vocational Education agreed that a state-of-the-art assessment would be valuable for facilitating a general understanding of current theory and practice as well as identifying needed research. The main purpose of this monograph is to examine the relevant theoretical literature that pertains to career counseling services for adults. Another purpose is to review alternative ways to deliver career guidance to adults. A by-product of achieving these purposes is the identification of a set of researchable issues to be addressed by other researchers.

At the outset, the editors were concerned with providing a wealth of current information and ideas to practitioners and researchers alike. Consequently, this monograph is an omnibus of ideas and information from which the reader may choose. For example, students may find the descriptions of basic theories a most useful tool. Researchers and theory builders will want to examine the critique of theories and the various researchable topics. Someone in the counseling setting may look to the papers in Section 4 for ideas on operating a counseling service.

This monograph should be used for generating a better understanding of adult career development and improving current and future counseling of adults. The editors take responsibility for any omissions and would welcome suggestions for subsequently improving it. This offer is made in full recognition that adult career guidance is a burgeoning area of interest.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people enriched this monograph with their contributions, not the least of whom are the special contributors: Solomon Arbeiter, Paul E. Barton, Larry A. Braskamp, John O. Crites, Gordon G. Darkenwald, Alan D. Entine, James C. Hall, Laurie R. Harrison, and Arthur A. Hitchcock.

We also are indebted to the following graduate research associates who assisted during the literature search and wrote preliminary and, in some instances, final drafts of parts of the manuscript: Helen D. Rodebaugh, Christine Tropeck, Shara S. Kernan, Lilless M. Shilling, and Gonzalo Garcia, Jr.

The formulation of relevant topics early in the project came with the kind assistance of these consultants: Alan B. Knox, Professor of Education, University of Illinois; Laurie R. Harrison, Research Scientist, American Institutes for Research, Palo Alto, California; and Donn F. Vickers, Associate Director, National Center for Educational Brokering (Office for Organization and Staff Development), Columbus, Ohio.

The first draft of the manuscript was immensely improved by the comments and suggestions of these reviewers: James M. Heffernan, Associate Director, National Center for Educational Brokering (Office for Research, Publications and *Bulletin)*, Syracuse, New York; Nevin Robbins, Research Specialist, The National Center for Research in Vocational Education; and Nancy Schlossberg, Professor of Education, University of Maryland. We also extend our appreciation to Patricia W. Winkfield who reviewed the article on minority populations and to Karin Stork Whitson who reviewed the article on criminal offenders. Both are research specialists at The National Center for Research in Vocational Education.

The line-by-line editing of this monograph was no easy task. We are fortunate to have had a thorough job done by Lilless M. Shilling, Graduate Research Associate. Additionally, our project secretary, Nancy Robinson, did an excellent job typing the initial draft and revisions of the monograph.

We are most appreciative of all who contributed to this monograph.

INTRODUCTION

The need for adult career guidance has been spawned by the rapid social, technological, and economic change that characterizes today's world.

Adults don't stay put the way they used to. Everywhere you look, people are moving around, changing jobs, going back to school, getting divorced. Starting over, in short. At age 30, 40, 50, 60—there's no end to it. (San Francisco Chronicle 1975.)

Socially, there is simply a rapidly growing number of adults. The general population growth boosted by the post World War II baby boom accounts for that. Between 1947 and 1957 about 43 million children were born. The number of adults in the thirty-five to forty-five group currently is 23 million and will reach 41 million by the year 2000. Also, by the year 2000, the number of Americans sixty-five or over is projected to be 31 million; today that figure is 23 million. By contrast, the birth rate has been steadily declining. In 1957, the fertility rate was 3.8 children per woman while in 1976, it fell to 1.8 (Mayer 1977).

Social mores are changing. Lifestyles tend to be more diverse and, as such, are accepted. Religion seems to be less of a stabilizing force in American life. Women are more and more accepted in nontraditional work roles. Divorce is more prevalent and accepted than in any other period of American history—a million divorces a year. Contraceptive techniques have improved and information about them is easy to obtain. Abortion is a viable alternative for more women today than twenty years ago. The stability and influence of the American family has declined (Best 1978). The push for equality and social justice has made tremendous gains through the civil rights and women's movements. Since World War II, education, particularly a college education, has been increasingly valued as the way to the "good life."

Technological advancements are, in part, responsible for rapid social change, especially mass communications and transportation. Developments in personal transportation have made the country and the world more accessible to the average person. Thus, people are apt to move more often to better their lives. The mobility of the nation has affected major segments of the economy.

The assimilation of radio and television in nearly every home in the nation has formed an instantaneous way to spread ideas, attitudes, and messages. The scope of the effect the electronic media have had on the behavior of people is debatable. Nevertheless, popular media, computers, microwave, and laser transmitters of data have accelerated the pace of life and business.

For the last fifty years or so the nation's economy has not been able to provide jobs for everyone during peacetime. The rise in inflation over the past ten years has made economic survival for singles and families very difficult, not to mention business and industry. For the better part of the 1970s, more than 7 percent of the labor force has been unemployed. Current economic forecasts do not promise relief.

How have, and how will, these trends affect the individual trying to promote a career? People have flocked to higher education as a way to a better job. Between 1957 and 1975 the number of adults in formal education more than doubled from 8 million to 17 million (Heffernan 1976). The emphasis on education has caused new standards for hiring which, in turn, motivate people to obtain more education. As a result, there is an increased pool of better educated adults in the job market. Unfortunately, the demand for college graduates is not as great as the supply. In 1975, college graduates constituted 16.9 percent of the civilian labor force but were vying for 15 percent of the jobs in civilian employment which traditionally had been filled by college graduates. The Bureau of Labor Statistics projects that for 1985 college graduates will constitute 20 to 21 percent of the civilian labor force, but the number of jobs available will remain about the same as in 1975 (Best 1978).

Many college graduates wind up taking positions for which they are over qualified. When this happens, people with lesser qualifications are displaced or perhaps prevented from moving up as fast as might have been possible, for example, in the 1950s.

Younger workers face upward mobility or job stagnation problems. Most of the desirable middle and upper management positions have been, and will be, especially in a slow-moving economy, held by a middle-aged cohort of mostly white males ages 35 to 55. With job stagnation come higher turnover rates because of morale problems, more frequent lateral transfers, slower promotions, and decisions to return to or stay in school (Stern 1977).

Throw into the above scene the clamoring of youth, women, minorities, marginally employed, disadvantaged, and older persons for a fair share in the labor force, and you have a tumultuous mix of adults who are striving for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is little wonder that people are looking for guidance to cope with change and uncertainties as their lives and careers develop. As Gysbers (1978) points out, the demand for guidance and counseling programs and services (at all levels of society) has never been greater.

This monograph offers a diverse treatment of adult career development as denoted by the section titles: The Context, The Theories, The Clients, and The Programs. The reader also will find research recommendations offered by each special contributor. The diversity of topics also suggests the monograph need not be read necessarily from beginning to end.

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SECTION 1. THE CONTEXT

When considering issues of public importance such as adult career guidance, it is most useful to understand historical antecedents and policy considerations. The following articles do justice to both. Mr. Barton addresses the historical development of people and work while Dr. Hitchcock looks at key policy considerations.

Adult Career Guidance: Emergence of Need

by
Paul E. Barton

Mr. Barton is a Senior Associate at the National Manpower Institute, Washington, D.C.

For most of homo sapiens' occupation of planet earth, what work one was to do as an adult was quite easily decided. More accurately, it was a given, and failure to do it usually brought coercion in family and tribal settings or punishment by the lord of the manor. It was only as we abandoned traditional societies and entered the industrial revolution that what we call adult occupational or career change could begin its evolutionary course.

Before the industrial revolution there was, most certainly, economic life. But it was not something apart from society or social life; it was, as Karl Polanyi instructs us, imbedded in society. The roles of individuals were determined by tradition, and economic life was made to conform to those traditions. The choices just were not there, but neither was the excruciating necessity to make them.

One precondition of a factory system was the labor to run the machines. The enclosure of land in England by those who had the power to do it broke the tradition of common land on which to graze cattle and grow food. The result was an ever larger group of people detached from the land, and then from the town and village. They became the roving poor who forced changes in the poor laws and emerged as an urban laboring proletariat. And for the first time, people became units of labor to be matched with the factory owner's fluctuating need for them; the change to commodity status awaited only the formalization by Adam Smith's pen. Beginning then, those who worked in the pay of others had to find their own means of adjusting to the ebb and flow of "economic forces." And so did the owners and operators themselves. There was change, but little choice.

The skilled artisans, usually following avenues already opened by parents, had limited choice but little change; they entered through apprenticeship into trades they would pursue until they were old. While the position carried more prestige, a surgeon

was created in basically the same way; and a lawyer read in a practitioner's office until pronounced ready.

Young America's largest economic enterprise, agriculture, was carried on the same way. Land was passed down from generation to generation. Then came the United States' own form of enclosure: the technological revolution in farming and the consolidation of small farms. First, a formerly rural population became factory operators and then service workers and salespersons as the growth of those industries began to outpace manufacturing.

Industrialization and urbanization (except in Appalachia) went hand in hand, and the position of the individual worker became more exposed to economic change. City institutions were impersonal, food had to be purchased in stores rather than just brought in from the garden, unemployment could quickly bring catastrophe, and a work injury could bring permanent financial ruin. But accompanying industrialization and urbanization was a steadily rising standard of living.

The first steps were to make economic life for the individual and the family more secure. While the individual had to continue to adapt to shifting economic forces, some of the hardship began to be ameliorated by government. By 1842 the right to organize into unions was first recongized by the courts in *Commonwealth vs. Hunt.* The uncertainties of civil proceedings in work injury cases were replaced with the Workmen's Compensation System. Social Security came into being to remove the threat of destitution. State and local "mother's aid" laws were put on a national basis in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program. The National Recovery Act, though short-lived, nourished organized labor and was followed by a permanent undergirding for collective bargaining in the National Labor Relations Act. Of major importance was the enactment of a federal unemployment insurance program; it meant that a person losing a job had a chance to search for a new one for a few weeks and still meet what were called "essential expenses."

A related development, but coming a couple of years earlier, was the creation of the federal-state Employment Service through the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933. There had been a growth of municipal and state employment services going back decades before, but this was the first nationwide recognition of the need for a free placement exchange. It was, and is, financed entirely by the federal government, but operated by the states. There are now over 2,500 offices, and the range of services include employment counseling and occupational aptitude and proficiency testing. In 1976, the Employment Service counseled 877,000 people, tested 679,000, and placed 3,367,000 in jobs out of 15,072,000 applicants. Placements made by the Employment Service, however, are a relatively small proportion of all new hires that take place.

There has been a long evolution of adult education, and later references to a recent spurt in its growth the last ten to fifteen years are not intended to diminish the significance of earlier developments. This evolution includes the lyceum lectures from the 1820s, the predominantly adult summer schools such as Harvard's summer program of 1869, the growth of correspondence courses, and the great Chautaugua movement (Harrington 1977).

The nation picked itself up after World War II with essentially the structure that was completed in the 1930s. As planning for the "post-war" period got into full swing, the

central concern was the possibility of dropping back into depression as war production ended. Most economists said we would, and while that is not what happened, the objective of economic planners was to make Keynesian economics national policy. The concern was with cyclical deflation; inflation was not part of our modern peacetime experience. This was a period of "aggregate" economic analysis, lasting through the 1950s, and culminating in the first clear-cut victory in 1964, when Walter Heller, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, led the successful fight for a tax cut to stimulate a slow growing economy.

There was one significant, if isolated, exception. The nation embarked on its largest adult education venture since the Americanization classes for immigrants: the GI Bill. It was a remarkable venture for many reasons. One reason was that it gave us experience in dealing with all the problems of large scale, government financed, adult education: tuition advance, living stipends (based on family size), definitions of what constituted acceptable education and training, educational institutions with less than pure motivations, and needs adults have to select careers matched with educational opportunities. Our experience with the GI Bill was remarkable, too, in that we kept that experience a very "separate" one and we have not often drawn on it for larger application.

In the decade beginning early in the sixties, we started to structure new opportunities for adults to learn and to upgrade jobs and careers. The Vocational Education Act was refurbished after a review by a Presidential Commission, putting adult education firmly in the charter. Just before that, the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962 had brought skill retraining to the unemployed who had been thrown onto the streets by automation or "structural" imbalances in the economy. This was the beginning of more counseling services as well, as applicants had to be directed to opportunities that fit them.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was heavily oriented toward youth in the training and education department, although it also had these aspects for eligible poor adults. Its passage resulted in the focusing of MDTA efforts on the poor, instead of broadly on the unemployed. And by 1967 training became serious business for adults in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program, under amendments to that law in 1967 and 1971.

These developments brought in some forms of counseling of adults or education and jobs as appendages to what was considered "manpower development" programs. Although these services were seldom broad enough to fit the term "adult career guidance," they were important elements in the broader opportunity structure that seemed to be falling into place for adults, albeit without overall design or plan.

The last twelve to fifteen years have seen a decided enlargement of adult education and training opportunity generally, with an explosion in the growth of community and junior colleges, the growth of nontraditional courses for nontraditional students, the importation of "distance learning" from the British Open University, the enlarging of education and training opportunities in large American industry and also within a number of unions, and the growth of tuition refund plans for going to school while you work.

What has happened is that many more adults are finding an increased number of opportunities to shift careers through growing forms and styles of education and training opportunities, more assistance of one kind or another to provide living expenses, more opportunities to mix schooling with work through tuition-aid programs, and an infant practice of flextime. At the same time, longer unemployment insurance duration, supplemented by food stamps, permits more people to explore better job opportunities and to exercise more choice over new employment. The United States is far from the adult educational "sabbaticals" guaranteed in France and Germany, but the recent past has definitely been one of growing opportunity.

That growth in opportunity to choose and change is what creates the need for the availability of adult career guidance services. As adults have more opportunity for job change, education, and training, they have needs that resemble those of youth: sorting out objectives and negotiating the educational and employment systems.

The statistics on how much job and career mobility is resulting from increases in the number of opportunities are not as clear as they could be. Recent deep recession and slow economic growth have been forces in the other direction. The "quit rate" has always been sensitive to the business cycle. There has been measurable increase in mobility in spite of the recession, although the increase cannot be associated with any particular cause. In January 1963 almost 36 percent of persons sixteen years old and over had been in their current job for eleven or more years. By January 1973 this had declined to 30 percent. This change occurred to different degrees among all age and sex groups, except for females over 55 (Special Labor Force Report 172, 1975) where job tenure increased slightly.

Because of the way we have measured job tenure, we have come to think of job seekers as those who have left their jobs and are unemployed, or those who are just entering or reentering the labor force. A very large proportion of job change, however, comes from those who seek new employment while they are still working. This is now measured, and we know that in May 1976, 3.3 million employed people were looking for jobs, or 4.2 percent of all employed persons (Special Labor Force Report 202, 1977). The job search rates follow a clear age pattern, with 11.2 percent of teenagers searching, dropping to 2.6 percent of thirty-five to forty-five year olds and just .5 percent of those sixty-five years and over. Nevertheless, about 1.7 million employed persons over twenty-four are searching for new jobs at any point in time.

Strong forces, in the form of women's liberation and the accompanying demand for occupational equality, have been working the last few years to increase the availability of career development services. Of course, women have been increasing their labor force activity for a long while, so it is really only the tempo of change which is new. The labor force participation rate for married women with husbands present rose from 28.4 percent in 1948 to 43.8 percent in 1976. Nineteen seventy-two was the first year more than half the mothers with children six to seventeen were in the labor force, edging up to 53.7 percent by 1976. And by 1976 almost four our out of ten mothers with a child under six were in the labor force (Employment and Training Report of the President 1977).

A dramatic indication of the speed-up of women's entry into the labor force is the revisions the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) has had to make in its labor force projections. In 1976, BLS upped the projection of the number of women expected in the

labor force in 1990 by 5 million over projections for 1990 published as recently as 1973 (Special Labor Force Report 156 1973, and Special Labor Force Report 197 1977). The projections will most likely be raised again.

There are also substantial increases in the numbers of women who are divorced and who are solely responsible for families. From 1950 to 1975 the number of divorced women in the labor force grew from 1.4 million to 4 million (Special Labor Force Report 198 1977).

Employment of women has increased considerably as more have sought work. Even so, the numbers of unemployed women have advanced dramatically, from 619,000 in 1947 to 3.3 million in 1976. And those who are employed are concentrated in the lower paying industries and occupations.

The demand from women is for occupational parity. Meeting it is going to require more opportunities for education, training, and career changing. And this creates needs for guidance.

Recently, older workers have generated similar pressures. The practice of taking away the jobs of workers at age sixty-five, or even earlier, is becomng increasingly less acceptable. The 1978 law making mandatory retirement illegal before age seventy is one indication of probable rapid change toward providing more productive roles for older people. We are probably entering a period of extended careers and second careers for those reaching traditional retirement ages.

A perceptible movement to a new concept of lifetime opportunity for learning has surfaced in recent years. It is something more than the disparate and often unrelated developments described above, and something more than the term "adult education" in use for so long. It is expressed in various ways: as a need to eliminate the time traps into which we have segmented life; as something we can get enough of in one period when we are young; and as a need to go beyond the classroom as a learning setting and to use all learning resources in the community.

Admittedly, this new concept is more talked about than practiced. It can be read about in several books published within the last couple of years and in the report to the Congress required by the Lifelong Learning Act of 1976. But it can also be observed in embryo in many places; a substantial number of communities have established what are presently called "educational brokering services" to match adult seekers with opportunities and to provide counseling assistance.

The strongest thread running through social and economic history is the increasing luxury of choice about jobs and careers, as a complex technology and economy widen the range of activities that provide livelihood and increase opportunities for change as careers progress. Acceleration of this trend in the future depends on whether the nation makes a conscious choice to do so as France and Germany have done. The nation may choose to allow it to merely continue to evolve, as has been the case for a long while. The extent to which large change will occur in adult career guidance activities is inextricably linked to that choice.

Recommendations for Research

1. Our information about patterns of adult careers is seriously restricted. Currently occasional surveys are completed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on job changes and tenure in current jobs. However, periodic surveys, with national samples, of career change and desire for career change should be completed. The recent one-time study of career transitions by the College Entrance Examination Board is a good point of departure. Through such periodic surveys we could track rates of career change and perceived need for education, training, and career guidance.

2. We need to conduct experimental research work to develop optimum relationships between new adult career guidance services and services offered by the public employment service, and to explore improvements that should be made in the public employment service.

3. There is need for an exploration of the quality of counseling given to adult enrollees in the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act program with respect to the choices they have to make in selecting among the training and employment opportunities available. What usually gets evaluated are the training and employment opportunities themselves.

4. There is a need to compare and contrast systematically the career guidance being provided under sponsorship of educational and training institutions and that provided by free standing guidance services.

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Public Policy and Adult Career/Occupational Services

by
Arthur A. Hitchcock

Dr. Hitchcock is a professor of education at the State University of New York at Albany and the chairperson of the Commission on Mid-Life Careers of the National Vocational Guidance Association

This paper presents an investigation of public policy that affects adult career/occupational services. Services include those activities and programs that related directly to the help that adults need to enable them to change, cope, adjust, or otherwise relate to changes in the world of work.

The paper does not include the study of continuing or adult education, per se, but education is included in some of the considerations of services that relate to adults and their work.

The problem addressed in this study is the condition—or conditions—of adults that shows the need for career/occupational services and the ways the public policy contributes to or detracts from those services. Public policies that inhibit helpful practices, or that are inadequate or lacking in the society, will be considered as well as those that facilitate valuable services.

Policy evolves from various sources. Policy directly influences practice. An excellent illustration is the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The public expressed strong concern over the status of the United States in space technology, following the Sputnik event in 1957. Congress responded to that concern by attacking the scarcity of educated human resources. Congress expressed a public policy, namely, that more able youth should be educated through college level to enhance the nation's capability, especially in the sciences. Congress legislated the means—especially counseling and testing—to carry this policy into practice. This is a clear-cut example of the genesis of public policy and how it is expressed in specific acts. The effects of the legislation that carried the policy into practice were dramatic, as stated in part by Stern (1977). The following section presents the principal public policy issues related to the adult population and the services for that population to handle its career/occupational conditions. Three basic issues are presented that cover the kinds of services and their delivery; the people who provide the services; and the concept of a total life span that combines education, work, and leisure.

Analysis of Policy Issues

Issue I

The key issue is the role of policy in providing the kinds of career/occupational services needed by the adult population.

The United States does not have a human resource policy relating to services in work and education for the adult population, nor to aspects of adult work and education other than services. A comparison may help to explain the point. Germany, Denmark, France, and Sweden have policies to facilitate adult worker change and employability. In those countries, a proportion of the worker population is in retraining and reeducation each year (Special Task Force 1973, p. 125).

The United States may have parts of policies, and it has one agency that has a mandate to contribute to human resource policy, namely the National Commission for Manpower Policy. The Commission's first annual report (National Commission for Manpower Policy, Report No. 3 1975) points to the economic cost to the nation of not having a comprehensive human resource policy that affects, for individuals, the essential interface of education, work, and human resources. The Commission expressed concern about the entire population, and it mentioned older workers and persons forced to retire. However, the first years of its study have been devoted to the school age and out-of-school youth population. Only now is the Commission turning to the older population. A Commission staff member reported to the writer (May 2, 1978) that the Commission is starting a policy level study of the employment problems and prospects of older workers.

United States policy on human resources had its origins in the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933, which established the Employment Service. The effect of the Service was to maintain income through job placement.

Through the years counseling and testing were provided in many of the 2,500 local offices, but two points relative to adults and their needs emerge (1) in Fiscal Year 1976, only 11.1 percent of those who received counseling were forty-five and older and only 6.2 percent of those who received job development service were forty-five and older; (2) The Employment service now, as policy and practice, stresses placement rather than counseling (Employment and Training Report of the President 1977, pp. 75-76).

The effect of this exercise of human resource policy is to limit the role of this major manpower agency in its work with mid-life and older Americans. It is generally recognized that counseling is a critical element in career/occupational services for adults. The National Commission for Manpower Policy, for example, lists counseling and testing as one of five areas unique for human resource policy and programs (National Commission for Manpower Policy, Special Report No. 8 April 1976, p. 19).

In the background of may national concerns with mid-age and older age workers stand other Congressional Acts. The early ones were the Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) and the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962 that replaced the ARA. MDTA was designed to retrain unemployed adults to enter jobs, and from 1962 to 1965 adults were the principal target population. Then the emphasis changed. Human

resource programs authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act and the War on Poverty shifted MDTA money to support training programs for the youth population by coupling training allowances with work experience programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Operation Mainstream. Thus, the training allowances tended to recycle disadvantaged youth from one income maintenance program to another (Odell 1978). The income maintenance nature of these programs is analyzed in a review by Mangum (1978).

More recently the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973, as later amended, might be expected to encompass mid-life and older persons. The older worker is one of the special population groups mentioned in Title III. In 1976 only 6.2 percent of the persons in training and placement services under CETA were forty-five years of age and over; 30.5 percent were younger adults twenty-two through forty-four years, but 63.1 percent were under twenty-two years. Furthermore, CETA aims "to provide training, employment, and other services leading to unsubsidized employment for economically disadvantaged, unemployed, and underemployed persons" (Employment and Training Report of the President 1977, p. 44).

Counseling, testing, and placement are authorized in Title I of the Act, but the central purpose of CETA is clearly for maintenance income and, therefore, counseling and testing, although authorized, have not been put into any significant practice. The Act is not designed to provide services that bear directly on adult career/occupational life. Its orientation is disadvantaged youth. Also, since prime sponsors are contracted directly, and since any unit of local government that has a population of 100,000 can contract as a prime sponsor, any populated area may have a number of prime sponsors without any consistency among them. At the time of this writing, amendments are being considered that may affect some of these conditions, but they will not alter the fact that this most recent human resource legislation sets the policy only to place people in jobs—that is, the policy of income maintenance.

CETA does not express a policy relating to the real substance of adult career and occupational growth, change, and employability as the society and technology change. Nor does the act attack the basic need for area, state, and national human resource planning to assure that training is offered in demand occupations and industries, in areas of employment expansion, and in geographic areas of labor demand. CETA's limitation to the local scene precludes the much larger human resource planning that is needed.

Counseling is important for the work and education of older Americans. Where counseling leads to further education or retraining for adults, that training has been shown to be what Striner (1972) describes as a "national capital investment." It is probable that counseling and the re-education and retraining that counseling leads to will contribute much more to the economy than they cost. This contrasts with the many welfare programs that enable people only to exist.

Studies in the U.S. Department of Labor in the 1950s showed that counseling was effective in helping mid-age and older people become employable. Combined with special placement, the number of persons forty-five and older who re-entered the labor market in significant jobs was more than double the number of those who did not receive that kind of help (Odell 1978).

Counseling can also contribute to the quality of life and to the quality of working life (National Commission for Manpower Policy 1976). In fact, there appears to be a developing recognition of quality of life as essential to a human resources policy for adults. Bell (1976) has proposed a shift in wording from "manpower" to "human resource development." This term would emphasize the quality element, to which counseling has so much to offer, as a matter of public policy. The significance of the quality element in life and work is stressed by many persons and in many reports. It is a vital element in job and occupation change, and must be recognized in policy. See, for example, Sarason (1977), Wirtz (1975), and Yankelovich (1978).

Another kind of service needed by adults is occupational and educational information. (As a measure of this need, see the New York State Education Department, *Needs Assessment,* 1977, p. 62-67). Information is needed also by counselor who work with adults and by planners who can develop training opportunities that will make persons employable as new kinds of work develop in the postindustrial society.

Job information was authorized through the MDTA in 1962. Some 200 job banks have been developed to provide information about job orders and to match workers with jobs (*Employment and Training Report of the President* 1977, p. 74). The banks are not, however, in a coordinated, national system.

For counseling, planning adult education, and anticipating "retooling" in many work sectors, information on changing occupational patterns is needed.

Both job information and long-range projection information are woefully inadequate. There never has been a sustained effort to develop and maintain these types of information that are essential to resource development policy. There are specific cases of information availability, however, that show that suitable information can be generated and utilized. Wirtz (1975, pp. 33-37) believes there is agreement that national human resources must demand, in practice, these several types of information.

To be useful, educational and occupational information and projections for adults must be accessible at the local level. Local centers for educational and career information services are listed in the current *Directory of Educational and Career Information Services for adults* of the National Center for Educational Brokering (1978). The *Directory* lists 215 sites; they are supported through a variety of sources.

One type of adult-use information center is the public library. There are many in various parts of the country. One prime example is in New York State where job and educational information centers have been located in libraries and are handled by paraprofessionals. Use of the center has been extensive.

Another important type of center for adults is the telephone call-in center. There are many of these, also, but one excellent example of the Career Education Project that operated in Rhode Island under the Education Development Center of Newton, Massachusetts. To provide career counseling by telephone it had to have an extensive information resource center.

Some of these models may help to alleviate the problems of the rural adult population. This group is pointed to consistently as being deprived of career and educational services (Stern 1977, Wirtz 1975).

Wirtz's (1975) statement that there is agreement on policy regarding the necessity for the several types of information is substantiated in the legislation (Higher Education Amendments of 1976) on Educational Information Centers (*Federal Register* January 12, 1978). States should develop plans now to provide all resident of a given area with information and referral services, including educational information and referrals to other services such as counseling. In other words, the legislation envisaged a vehicle for accomplishing on a nationwide basis, within each locality, the kinds of local education information services that have been described above. In the area of information, pressure and examples of practice have helped to evolve a public policy that is being implemented by federal legislation. The other information element that has not yet surfaced is occupational information (Stern 1977, p. 120). A comprehensive labor market information system can be developed as suggested by Yavitz, Morse, and Dutka (1973) who outline the steps to create the "ideal system."

This analysis of the issue of public policy is generating the kinds of career/occupational services needed by the adult population has concentrated on the federal level because it is at this level that policies are expressed in legislative acts that carry the policies into practice. It is at the federal level that policies can move into practice nationwide, as witnessed by the policy carried into action by the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

A growing nationwide concern about mid-age and older age persons will force the formulation of a human resource development policy. Through organizations; through articles, books, and reports; through local units such as the educational brokering centers; through local practice; and through the almost certain abandonment of the concept of retirement, society is beginning to express its concern about the work, education, and life of adults.

A first step in expressing that concern is found in the legislation to create educational information centers. A further step is developing. Representative Henry A. Waxman of California has introduced a bill (H.R. 11903, April 5, 1978) that designates counseling and training specifically for middle-aged and older workers. Although not likely to succeed now, it will later; and the bill is further evidence of the movement from public concern to public policy to enabling legislation relative to adult career/occupational services and alternatives for change.

Additional support for these directions in the future are found in Rosenblum's paper (1977), "The Next Steps in Combating Discrimination in Employment." This paper, prepared for the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging, calls for the establishment of a mid-career development services program and the prohibition of involuntary retirement. Odell and Sheppard proposed such legislation in the mid-sixties before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (Odell 1978). Within a few years, the legislation surely will move into action.

Issue II

The second policy issue relates to the type of personnel who can best provide adult career/occupational services, and the most effective training for such personnel. This policy concerns the roles of professionals and paraprofessionals.

Controversy over the roles originated in the conflict between professional and paraprofessonals. Professional counselors, represented by the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA), would not recognize a role for paraprofessionals in counseling until confronted by D.A. Hansen (1965), a sociologist. He warned that if the profession of counseling did not specify the role and training of "subprofssionals" in counseling, some other part of the society would, and professional counseling would lose the entitlement to make determinations about paraprofessionals in its own field.

Professionals are prominent in counseling activities with mid-life and older persons who are engaged in career or occupational change. One compelling reason for the presence of paraprofessionals is economic necessity. In this writer's experience with many professionals who administer counseling centers or agencies for adults, financing is so difficult that paraprofessionals have to be used. Some centers even use volunteers as paraprofessionals (Waters 1978).

However, paraprofessionals are not used only because of economic necessity. Administrators of counseling programs for adults report that persons who have been through, or who are working through, mid-life changes seem to relate better than others to adult clients who seek help through counseling programs. The issue has not been researched.

It is probable that different adult populations need counselors, or paraprofessional counselors, with different backgrounds. For example, a call-in referral service may use a person who is aware of and can transmit items of information. A face-to-face setting may require different abilities.

Frederickson, Macy, and Vickers (1978) point out that the persons they term "learning consultants" were "selected to be representatives of the age, sex, race, and work background of the target adult clients." The entire group of learning consultants must reflect the diversity of the adult clientele. Frederickson et al. found in their Regional Learning Service that college degrees were not necessary, but the ability to communicate with persons with diverse questions and problems was absolutely essential.

One element common to all adult counseling is reality. Counselors—either professional or paraprofessional—must have realistic information about career life to succeed in helping adults who are involved in career/occupational changes and develoment. Reality refers to work awareness as well as to sources of current information.

Stern (1977) points out that when the National Defense Education Act was passed in 1958 there were 13,000 counselors in secondary schools. By 1967 the number had increased threefold. Two points are important: (1) It is believed that the counselors who were trained in this fast expansion period constitute most of the counselors in schools today; (2) Their orientation was college—to identify students for college and to counsel them to enter college. These are school counselors, but their orientation biased adult counseling at its outset. Today reality is recognized as essential, however, and reality includes the working world.

Another element about those who relate to adults in a counseling setting is the need for preparation that differs from the preparation of those who relate to children or

adolescents. Considerable literature has developed about levels and stages of ego development at mid-life and older ages, and the literature starts with Jung. Psychosocial changes during these years are quite different from development at earlier years. Also counselors need knowledge about practical elements regarding job and occupation changes; barriers to change and advancement; and the differing needs and reactions to continuing education, work, and leisure of different segments of the adult population. Many aspects of the training of persons who work with adults in a counseling relationship need to be investigated.

The topic of counselors and their preparation raises many questions that need further research. We already know a lot, but this knowledge needs to be systematized and interpreted, and new research areas should be opened up.

Issue III

The third policy issue is the lifelong combination of work, education, and leisure that will facilitate career change and enhancement, prevent job obsolescence, and contribute to the quality of life. This issue complements and relates directly to the first one.

Researchers have pointed to the need for social policies that, when put into practice, will make it possible for people to have more valuable lives and working lives which will also contribute more to the collective life and the economy. This third issue rounds out the other two issues.

There are now some quantitative data about the quality of life in the United States. *Social Indicators 1976* is the second report dealing with such data. the first was published in 1973. It is significant that the Office of Federal Statistical Policy and Standards, U.S. Department of Commerce, has published this large volume of data on such areas as education and training, work, culture, leisure and the use of time, social mobility and participation, and the family. Data of this magnitude are of value not only in themselves for what they state directly about the quality of life in our society but also because they imply something important about a society that is even intersted to know what people are doing and what they are concerned about relative to these qualitative aspects of life.

In summary, data in these areas indicate, as noted briefly in the discussion of the first issue, that people are more concerned with a fuller life, including leisure, rather than with devoting themselves so exclusively to work. The data show that education and work are closely interrelated, with higher levels of education being identified with greater work satisfaction and with greater participation in continuing education. Those with more education rank themselves higher in socioeconomic class. Older and younger workers tend more toward the condition of anomie (normlessness) than middle-aged workers.

There are clearly relationships among the elements of work, education, and leisure. Sarason (1977, pp. 196-238) supports these interrelationships in his reference to highly education people who seek a "rebirth"—a new life. He believes a large number of highly education people would like to change careers.

Wirtz (1975) carries the point for a fuller life span with a continual meshing of education, work, and leisure to working people in general; he is seeking to create this interrelated kind of change in practice through Community Education-Work Councils.

In 1973 the Special Task Force Report to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was already pointing to the interface of these several aspects of life in endeavoring to create a better work environment and work life.

The writer very recently discussed this policy issue with persons who represent major human resource organizations at the national level and who are highly recognized in human resources. They agree that public policy must be developed to bring into practice conditions that will enhance the quality of a individual's working, educational, and leisure life.

Sheppard (1978) also points to the interrelationship of work, education, and leisure. He argues that the opportunity to work must be open to all age groups as part of each person's life pattern and as essential for the economy. In other words, he recommends that we recognize different problems of work and education at different age levels and realize that retirement is an outmoded concept.

In addition to the literature cited, policy in this realm may be aided by a Kellogg Foundation-supported study by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, on lifelong learning. The study includes an investigation of policy barriers to lifelong learning.

Interest in this issue is strong and some research has been generated. More research and the further interpretation of existing data are indicated. Some new related areas need exploration. For example, career education has a direct relationship to the education component of adult life. Hoyt (1974), who has advanced the work in career education that was started by Marland in the U.S. Office of Education, has pointed to the lifelong nature of the career education concept. The relationship of career education to adult life needs to be researched.

Recommendations for Research

1. There is a need for research into the elements involved in an adult changing from one occupation or career to another.

   When adults consider changes of occupation or career—in contrast to changes of job from one company or institution to another—they are faced by serious problems of the use of previously acquired skills and knowledge in a different occupation which requies different skills and knowledge. As pointed out by Stern (1977), the transferability of skills from one occupational cluster to another is extremely important for change, and we do not know enough about such transferability. Instruments for analyzing the present and potential skills of young people and young adults have been found inappropriate for mid-life and older persons. Although some work is being done on instruments for the older population, these instruments—even when developed—will not answer the problem adequately. The problem needing study is how assessments of adults may be made that will help them understand where their most appropriate and satisfying directions will be.

Counselors have worked with adults for many years. One part of the research project would be to bring together and to interpret assessment knowledge that has come from these experiences. Material developed during recent years would be most valuable. For example, a study has been made of transferring the skills and knowledge of air traffic controllers into other occupations when they are required to leave their air traffic control jobs at an average age of thirty-seven.

Another part, however, would be experimentation with different modes of assessment to determine their effectiveness with different adult population groups.

This research could be especially valuable if it is tied to the new worker traits material that was scheduled for release by the U.S. Department of Labor in the fall of 1978.

We do not have an adequate body of knowledge on the assessment of adults to use in the preparation of professional and paraprofessional counselors. This proposed research should round out the knowledge in this particular area. This research is basic to the first and third policy issues.

2. There is a need to study the characteristics or factors that distinguish voluntary career or occupation changers from nonchangers and from those who are forced to change.

   A number of researchers and writers are providing information about career changers, but almost all of the research applies to white middle class males. Research should also include differences in sex, age, occupational level, and minority group membership. Information at present, even regarding the variable of age, is fragmentary.

   This research is significant for public policy because it should make it possible to answer the question: Under what conditions will different people be able to make changes effectively in the life span of work, education, and leisure?

   This research also could be used to show the dimensions of career or occupation change. That is, what kinds of persons, under what conditions, change to, or seek to change to, what kinds of occupations?

   In addition to the contributions of this research to public policy, it would have a secondary but significant usefulness in expanding the knowledge of counselors about adults and their career changes.

3. Research should be conducted on retirement.

   An interdisciplinary study of retirement should be made with a team that includes economists, sociologists, psychologists, and labor force analysts. This research is important for the life span concept of work, education, and leisure and because of the likelihood that eventually the concept of retirement as presently known will disappear, as noted in this paper.

We do not know what the effects of the changes ordered by recent legislation on retirement will be. This research should not merely count the number of people who retire at various ages, nor should it be simply an opinion poll about retirement. Rather it should be a study that will relate the many variables of work conditions, retirement provisions, the economic life of the society, and availability of different work and study arrangements to different kinds of individuals. We do not know the effects of delaying forced retirement, nor the effects of removing mandatory retirement entirely. This research also will include changes that will occur in companies as a result of not forcing people to retire and will at least imply effects on the nation's economy. This research should be started with a limited population, such as a segment of government workers and a segment of workers in a large industrial plant.

This far-reaching research project would directly influence public policy as proposed in this paper.

4. Research should be conducted on the effectiveness of professional and paraprofessional counselors with adult clients in various work settings and activities.

   As pointed out in the policy issue on delivery of career and occupational services to adults, counselors of adults have varying opinions about the kinds of individuals—professional and paraprofessional—who are most effective with adult populations.

   Research is needed to determine in what type of work—counseling, advising, giving information, working face-to-face or on the telephone—persons with different kinds and levels of training and different demographic characteristics (such as age, sex, and ethnic background) are most effective, and with which clients. This research should also include the types of client needs. Since the number of variables is quite large, the research could be carried out in stages.

   A first stage could be a limited study to test variables in only one or two working conditions. With that information, the research could be expanded into other working activities and with different clients.

   Results of this research would be valuable in developing policy that will result in decisions about training and supplying the most effective counselors for adults.

5. Research is needed to test ways to develop better life patterns specifically in combinations of work, education, and leisure.

   Problems of motivation, availability of training, changing interests, and using information projections need to be investigated. The concept of the life span appears to be viable, but there are many difficulties in achieving this condition. Research should be funded to test various conditions for achieving better life patterns. We know, for example, that those with more education tend to seek further education. But, is it possible to create conditions under which those with less education will wish more education to be employable in a changing technology and to have a better life?

Some attempts are being made to develop this life span. These efforts should be evaluated. But new research efforts are needed. It would be possible to take limited parts of this life pattern and test different approaches for their viability.

6. Continuing research needs to be conducted on the users of existing services and of the services proposed in this paper.

   There should be a national clearinghouse that would produce an annual census of the adult users of the various career/occupational services at the local level. This information is critical for policy planning. As policy moves into practice, it is crucial to know what happens to the user. With the beginnings of educational information services on the local level, this is the time to start a national clearinghouse for information on the user population.

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SECTION 2. THE THEORIES

This section consolidates and examines pertinent adult and career development theories. A terse, basic explanation of the major ideas of key theorists is made. Then Dr. Robert E. Campbell and Dr. James V. Cellini discuss basic themes, theoretical issues, and interrelationships. These parts are followed by Dr. John O. Crites' provocative article that aims to improve current constructs for understanding adult career development.

Theories of Adult Development

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A psychology of adult years has lagged far behind that of child and adolescent psychology (Bischof 1969, Neugarten 1968). A far greater proportion of the psychological literature concerned with human development has been devoted to infancy, childhood, and adolescence. Furthermore, in the last several decades, interest in gerontology has increased dramatically. Consequently, the early and middle adult years have been relatively neglected. Traditionally, adulthood has been viewed as a period of stability and certainty preceded by a time of major growth and development during childhood and adolescence and followed by a period of decline and change in the later years. This prevailing view incorporates the notion that nothing of tremendous significance occurs during the middle years; adults emerge fully formed at the age of twenty-five and remain virtually the same until the middle sixties. Because this period of life was believed to be a time of stasis, little attention has been directed to the study of adulthood.

In recent years, a body of scholarly research and theory has developed which questions the notion of stasis in the adult years (Bischof 1969, Brim 1976, Knox 1977, Markunas 1977, Neugarten 1968, Schlossberg, Troll and Leibowitz 1978, and Troll 1975). It is becoming increasingly recognized that although adulthood is a relatively stable period of life, changes do occur. In some cases changes take place gradually, while at other times changes occur rather abruptly in response to accumulated significant life experiences. Research is beginning to shed light on some of the unique challenges facing individuals in their adult years. Adults in our society are confronted with tasks and life events quite different from those encountered by children, adolescents, and older individuals. Although much of the research conducted thus far lacks the methodological sophistication necessary for a detailed understanding of the adult years, significant attempts have been made to identify and investigate some of the important characteristics of adulthood. Furthermore, as Kimmel (1976) points out, recent trends in society will insure increased attention to this important period of life.

With better health care available, the life span has been lengthened considerably. Consequently, there are more adults and elderly people in our society than ever before. Programs and services are becoming increasingly necessary to meet the needs of individuals in this age group. It is likely that as the number of investigators interested in the adult years increases, theory and research will provide a more accurate understanding of individuals in this stage of life.

Theoretical Formulations

Several theoretical models of adulthood have been proposed. Some of the earliest theories were based primarily on clinical and empirical observations. Although few of these formulations have been adequately tested or supported by empirical research, each theory is important in describing developmental crises and salient issues believed to be characteristic of the adult years. Empirical research in the future should test the adequacy of each theory and suggest revisions that must be made to give a more accurate, detailed account of the processes occurring during adulthood.

Early Theories of Adult Development

Jung

Jung's (1933) notions of the stages of development are based on his clinical observations. His discussion of problems of the psyche, begins with a description of the period of life he calls "youth." This period begins after the completion of puberty and extends to the middle years. Individuals in this period of life must relinquish childhood dreams. They must deal increasingly with sexual desires and feelings of inferiority. In addition, they must face a variety of tasks, including selecting a partner for marriage. Jung's view of this period is expansive, in that the individual is challenged by, and must adjust to, novel events and experiences.

This middle period of life is seen as a time of enormous psychological significance. According to Jung, radical changes occur in the second half of life. His description of middle life follows:

> Middle life is the moment of greatest unfolding, when a man still gives himself to his work with his whole strength and his whole will. But in this very moment, evening is born, and the second half of life begins. Passion now changes her face and is called duty; "I want" becomes the inexorable "I must" and the turnings of the pathway that once brought surprise and discovery become dulled by custom. . . . Conservative tendencies develop if all goes well, most of the time involuntarily, and one begins to take stock to see how one's life has developed up to this point (1933, p. 535).

Jung's theory asserts that this period of life is one of introspection in which middle aged individuals survey their lives and motivations and analyze their past accomplishments and present circumstances. According to Jung, these insights are difficult to make and "they are gained only through the severest shocks" (p. 535).

The theory asserts that in the last stage of life, "old age," an interesting change in personality frequently occurs. The theory suggests that older men tend to become more nurturant and less aggressive, while older women tend to emphasize the more "masculine" characteristics of their personalities. It also suggests that many older individuals tend to look back on their lives and experience despair. They lose interest in their futures and tend to cling to the first half of their lives. They are without a sense of meaning or purpose. Jung's beliefs include the notion that it is maladaptive for older individuals to attempt to recapture the past and that is psychologically healthy for the elderly to develop goals for the future and to strive to reach these goals. They include the assertions that one goal toward which these individuals must learn to strive is death; and that fear and denial of death are psychologically unhealthy. His suggestions include that in the later years the focus should turn inward and that the elderly should inrospectively explore their feelings, hopes, and interests in an effort to find a purpose in life and to make it possible for them to accept death.

Buehler

While Jung developed his theory primarily from his clinical observations, Charlotte Buehler (1968) and her students construct a theory of human development based upon the biographical sketches of 400 individuals. These investigators present results of analyses of each of the biographies with particular attention to changes occurring throughout the life cycle. Consequently, they propose five psychological phases of the life cycle which parallel five biological phases. The first of the psychosocial and biological phases is concerned with growth during childhood. At this stage, children begin to make plans and decisions about their lives. However, it is not until the second phase (ages fifteen to twenty-five) that individuals begin to make more realistic decisions and to experiment and test these goals. Frenkel-Brunswick (1968), one of Buehler's students, describes this phase as one of expansion. However, decisions made during this phase are only tentative in nature; preparation and experimentation are highly characteristic of this stage of life. Biologically, individuals are capable of sexual reproduction.

The third phase (ages twenty-five to forty-five) is referred to as the culmination period. Reproduction at this time is active and growth is stable. Goals have been specified and defined. Individuals have generally chosen a vocation and a marriage partner. Interpersonal relationships, professional work, and social activities have reached a high point. Vitality and energy are characteristic of this phase.

The fourth phase (ages forty-five to sixty-five), marks the beginning of physical decline. Women experience a loss of sexual reproductive ability after menopause, and both males and females show manifestations of aging. While social activities tend to decline and significant losses increase in number, interest in the accomplishment of life increases. Individuals in this phase seem to be more introspective and self-evaluative.

The last phase begins at age sixty-five and is characterized by biological and physical decline. Retirement from one's profession occurs during this phase. This stage of life may be either positive or negative depending on the assessment older individuals make of their past lives, their feelings of accomplishment, and their satisfaction with the achievement of their goals. Some individuals experience fulfillment in the later years and continue their activities much as they did in the past. Others tend to despair and to

return to a childlike, dependent state. Many older individuals complain of loneliness. This last phase is characterized by reminiscing about the past and by adjusting to impending death.

Kuhlen (1968), in discussing changes in motivation during the adult years, elaborates on Buehler's theory. He views the human life cycle as characterized by growth and expansion in the early years of life and contraction in the later years. Middle adulthood appears to be the critical turning point.

Erikson

One of the best known formulations of the adult years is included within Erik Erikson's comprehensive theory of human development. Erikson (1964) divides the life cycle into eight psychosocial stages, the first five of which correspond closely to and are elaborations of Freud's psychosexual stages. Erikson's stages extend from birth to death and each stage represents a major crisis or turning point. Consequently, Erikson sees the earlier stages as being the foundation upon which success or failure in the following stages depends. Erikson's theory has provided some useful and interesting insights into the important developmental crises in human development. He recognizes the significance of social and cultural events in the lives of human beings; in addition, by extending his stages to include the adult years, he reveals some of the salient issues facing adults in our society. However, due to various difficulties, his theory has not been adequately tested or fully supported by empirical data. Nevertheless, his last three stages do present an interesting description of some of the problems and issues confronting individuals in the adult years.

The sixth stage is referred to as "intimacy versus isolation." Successful resolution of this stage depends upon the sense of identity one has developed up to this point. Erikson feels that before individuals can become truly intimate with other human beings (i.e., fuse their identities with others), they must have a deep understanding of who they are. Some individuals who are not sure of their identities avoid interpersonal intimacy. Others tend to enter into intimate relationships with others without true fusion of their identities or without being willing to give fully of themselves. These young adults, according to Erikson, will experience a sense of ego isolation.

In the seventh stage, "generativity versus stagnation," peole are concerned with providing guidance for younger generations and with producing something that will outlive themselves. The inability to give of oneself to another, to teach, to produce, and to guide leads to a sense of personal impoverishment or stagnation. Stagnated individuals are described as self-indulgent and are preoccupied with their own needs and concerns. The successful resolution of this stage may lead to an ultimate sense of fulfillment later in life, while the unsuccessful negotiation of this crisis may lead to a feeling of despair.

The final stage in Erikson's theory is referred to as "ego integrity versus despair." This stage begins with the realization that death is near and life is finite. The important task at this stage is the evaluation and appraisal of one's life and accomplishments. Some individuals, in assessing their past, find satisfaction and contentment. They have accomplished what they had hoped to and they were able to create, produce, and give fully of themselves to others. These older individuals experience ego integrity and a

sense of personal fulfillment and satisfaction. Death is accepted and is not feared. The unsuccessful resolution of this stage results in a sense of despair, meaninglessness, and alienation. Despair is the external reaction to internal feelings of fear of death and of pressure to start life over again. Individuals experiencing this sense of despair see little meaning or purpose in their lives and, thus, they fear impending death.

Peck

Robert Peck's work (1968) expands and refines the last two stages in Erikson's theory. He attempts to specify more precisely the salient issues confronting middle-aged and older individuals in our society. According to Peck, individuals in middle age will confront four major challenges. The first is referred to as "valuing wisdom versus valuing physical powers." With increasing age, there is a natural decline in physical abilities and stamina. Those individuals who refuse to recognize this decline and view their physical abilities as a critically important aspect of their self-concept will inevitably become depressed at such a loss. However, those individuals who are able to recognize and accept this decline and to transfer their standard for self-assessment to the intellectual realm will adjust successfully in this stage of development.

The second task is referred to as "socializing versus sexualizing in human relationships." Along with the general physical decline occurring at this time of life, there are additional biological changes taking place which may result in decreased sexual activity. The goal for individuals in this stage is to redefine interpersonal relationships with others, decreasing the sexual element and increasing the social aspects. Those who successfully adjust to this task develop more meaningful, more intimate, and more significant relationships with others.

The third challenge facing middle-aged individuals is refered to as "cathectic flexibility versus cathectic impoverishment." The investment of emotional energy in significant people and activities is what is meant by the term "cathexis." Because individuals in middle age experience many significant losses (e.g., death of loved ones, retirement, loss of reproductive ability, children leaving home), those individuals who are able to show emotional flexibility by reinvesting time and energy into other individuals, activities, and interests will adjust more successfully in middle years than those who are unable to replace past losses in this way. According to Peck, "positive adaptation to this task requires new learning—not only of a specific new cathexis, but of a generalized set toward making new cathexes" (p. 90).

The last task facing middle-aged individuals is referred to as "mental flexibility versus mental rigidity." Traditionally, a stereotype that has persisted concerning individuals in middle adulthood is that they become increasingly rigid, narrow-minded and set in their ways. Those individuals who are able to remain flexible and open to new ideas and experiences will, according to Peck, adjust more successfully in their middle and later years.

Peck identifies three major tasks facing individuals in their later years. The first is referred to as "ego differentiation versus work role preoccupation." Specifically, individuals at this stage of life must face the impact of retirement. Those individuals who are able to redefine themselves, take pleasure in other activities, and achieve satisfaction in roles other than those which are work-related will maintain a continued interest in living and a sense of self-worth. Many older individuals, however, have identified

themselves exclusively in terms of their jobs. At retirement, they undergo a difficult, if not traumatic, period in which they question the value and purpose of life. Consequently, according to Peck (1968),

> one critical requisite for successful adaptation to old age may be the establishment of a varied set of valued activities and valued self-attributes, so that any one of several alternatives can be pursued with a sense of satisfaction and worthwhileness. (p. 90)

The second task confronting the elderly is referred to as "body transcendence versus body preoccupation." Old age often brings with it a variety of illnesses, aches, and pains. Some individuals become preoccupied with their physical well-being and are unable to receive any pleasure in life. Others are able to transcend this preoccupation, to enjoy life, and to achieve satisfaction in interpersonal relationships and creative abilities. According to Peck, these individuals will adapt more successfully to their later years.

The final challenge confronting the elderly is "ego transcendence versus ego preoccupation." Through their accomplishments, their children, and relationships with others, human beings are able to extend the value of their contributions. Death is more easily accepted if one has given unselfishly and generously to others. Individuals who are able to accept death and who are fulfilled and content have successfully resolved one of the most difficult tasks facing elderly people. Such individuals find meaning in life knowing that they have contributed as much as they possibly could have to their families, friends, and future generations. Some individuals, unfortunately, never achieve this personal satisfaction and sense of fulfillment. Death is feared and fought. The lives of such individuals will be fraught with loneliness, pain, and despair in their twilight years.

Havighurst

Robert Havighurst (1953) proposes a similar model of human development in which individuals confront developmental tasks at each stage of life which must be resolved or completed. He defines "developmental tasks" in this way:

> A developmental task is a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks. (p. 2)

Havighurst's model specifies the tasks that must be achieved at each stage of develoment. During early adulthood, individuals confront a variety of difficult tasks including selecting a mate, learning to live with a marriage partner, managing a home, rearing children, beginning an occupation, taking on civic responsibility, and finding a social group. Havighurst believes that young people are given little education to prepare them for these tasks. He views early adulthood as a lonely period of life, for individuals at this stage are given little assistance or attention with which to accomplish these major challenges. As a result, it may take some young adults many years of exploration and

experimentation to accomplish these tasks. Havighurst also points out that the relative difficulty and importance of each goal as well as the rapidity with which it is accomplished vary from individual to individual depending on the sex and social class of the person.

During the middle adult years (ages thirty to fifty-five) the tasks confronting individuals include achieving civic and social responsibility, maintaining an economic standards of living, giving guidance to adolescent children, developing leisure time activities, adjusting to physiological changes, relating to one's spouse as a person, and adjusting to aging parents. According to Havighurst, these tasks arise from changes within the individual and from pressure resulting from the individual's own aspirations and values. Again, there are differences between the social classes in the degree of importance attached to each task.

Havighurst sees the developmental tasks of the later adult years as differing from those of other stages of life in one important respect. Because major changes occur in the social, physical, and economic spheres, older people must assume a defensive, rather than offensive strategy. They must work to hold on to what they have already acquired and learn how to cope with and adjust to some major life changes. The tasks described for this stage include adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health, adjusting to retirement and reduced income, adjusting to the death of a spouse, establishing an affiliation with one's age group, meeting social and civic obligations, and establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements.

Although the early theories of adult development have not been adequately tested, the investigators discussed above have nevertheless revealed some remarkable similarities in what they consider to be important characteristics of the adult stages of life. They have attempted to specify both the unique challenges confronting adults and the unique changes that occur during this period of life. Furthermore, these theorists were some of the first to view adulthood as a separate period of life with developmental tasks and significant life events differing from those confronting children and adolescents. Adulthood is described as a time of growth and change rather than as a static period of life. Consequently, one of the major contributions of these early formulations of adulthood has been the establishment of a foundation for later theoretical and research endeavors. A brief synopsis of the early stage theories of adult development (i.e., Buehler, Erikson, Havighurst, and Peck) is presented in Table 1.

Recent Theories of Adult Development

In recent years, several theories of adulthood have been proposed (Gould 1972, Vaillant 1978, Levison 1978). These models are more detailed and specific than the stage theories of Buehler, Erikson, Havighurst, and Peck. Furthermore, the more recent formulations of adult life are based on a reasonable amount of empirical research and, although independently derived, they have reached similar conclusions regarding the stages of adulthood. A summary of the more recent stage theories (Gould, Vaillant, Levinson, Stevenson, and Sheehy) is presented in Table 2 which appears at the end of this article.

TABLE 1. CHART OF EARLY ADULT DEVELOPMENT STAGE THEORIES

	ADOLESCENCE (20 and under)	EARLY ADULTHOOD (20-40)	MIDDLE ADULTHOOD (40-60)	LATE ADULTHOOD (60 and over)
Buehler	**CHARACTERISTICS** (15-25) *Expansion* Experimentation Testing of goals Tentative decisions Preparation	**CHARACTERISTICS** (25-45) *Culmination* Specification of goals Vocational selection Selection of marriage partner Vitality and energy Interpersonal relationships and career of central concern	**CHARACTERISTICS** (45-65) *Maintenance* Onset of physical decline Decline in social activities Significant losses experienced Satisfaction with accomplishments Introspection and self-evaluation	**CHARACTERISTICS** (65 and over) *Decline* Biological and physical decline Retirement Satisfaction vs. despair Reminiscence Adjustment to impending death
Erikson	*Identity vs. Role Confusion* Determination of one's role in life Establishment of an identity vs. Lack of certainty about one's place in society Confusion Turmoil	*Intimacy vs. Isolation* Development of intimate relationships with others Fusion of identity with another vs. Avoidance of intimacy Inability to give fully of oneself Isolation and alienation	*Generality vs. Stagnation* Provide guidance for younger generation Able to give of oneself Teach and lead others vs. Self-indulgent Preoccupied with own concerns and needs Impoverished and stagnated	*Ego Inegrity vs. Despair* Satisfaction with past life and accomplishments Fulfillment and contentment Ego integrity vs. Sense of meaningless and alienation Loneliness Fear of death Despair
Havighurst	**TASKS** 1. Achieving mature relations with age mates 2. Accepting one's physique 3. Achieving a social role 4. Achieving emotional independence 5. Selecting and preparing for an occupation 6. Preparing for marriage 7. Achieving socially responsive behavior	**TASKS** 1. Selecting a mate 2. Learning to live with a marriage partner 3. Managing a home 4. Rearing children 5. Beginning an occupation 6. Taking on civic responsibility 7. Finding a social group	**TASKS** 1. Achieving civic and social responsibility 2. Maintaining an economic standard of living 3. Giving guidance to adolescent children 4. Developing leisure activities 5. Adjusting to physiological changes 6. Relating to one's spouse 7. Adjusting to aging parents	**TASKS** 1. Adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health 2. Adjusting to retirement and reduced income 3. Adjusting to death of one's spouse 4. Meeting social and civic obligations 5. Establishing an affiliation with one's age group
Peck			**TASKS** 1. Valuing wisdom vs. physical powers 2. Socializing vs. sexualizing in human relationships 3. Catheatic flexibility vs. impoverishment 4. Mental flexibility vs. rigidity	**TASKS** 1. Ego differentiation vs. work role preoccupation 2. Body transcendence vs. preoccupation 3. Ego transcendence vs. preoccupation

Gould

Gould's (1972) extensive interviews with 524 middle class men and women, ages sixteen to sixty, and he comparisons of their responses with a group of out-patients at the UCLA Neuropsychiatric Institute are the basis of his research from which he concludes that adults pass through seven developmental stages.

The responses of the youngest age group, ages sixteen to eighteen, reflect a desire to escape from and become independent of parental domination. Gould reports feelings of anxiety in the responses of these individuals resulting from their preparation to leave the security of the family. Conceptions of the future among these respondents were vague and distant. Similarly, the dominant theme of the responses of those individuals between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, was again independence. These young adults tended to be peer-oriented rather than adult-oriented.

Conversely, the responses of indidividuals twenty-two to twenty-eight emphasize the desire for competence and mastery, both personally and professionally. These young adults were developing self-reliance and were becoming optimistic about their abilities and autonomy. The self-assurance manifested among respondents in this age group dissipated slightly at the next stage.

Gould reports that individuals between twenty-nine and thirty-five began to question their personal worth, their commitments and, in general, the meaning of life. Financial concerns seemed to increase at this stage of life. According to Gould, age thirty marks a critical turning point in the lives of many of his subjects and this crisis period continued into their early forties. Consequently, individuals at the next stage (ages thirty-five to forty-three) were found to continue, even more intensely, to question and to reevaluate their values, interests, and commitments. This period of life was referred to as a "second adolescence." It was characterized by a growing recognition that life is finite. Individuals at this stage were confronted with their own mortality and they revealed concern that the time necessary to make changes was rapidly coming to an end. Furthermore, marital satisfaction was at a low level. Age thirty-seven was designated as the marking the begining of a "mid-life crisis" for many adults.

Individuals between forty-three and fifty are reported to be more stable and were, in general, resigned to the fact that life is finite. Gould (1972, 1978) states that the attitude at this stage reflected the feeling that "what is done is done, the die is cast" (p. 74). A sense of reconciliation characterized many of these individuals. Finally, the desire for change in one's occupation declined.

While the last stage, beginning at age fifty, was characterized by stability and acceptance, many of the adults in this age group felt there was not enough time to make major changes in their careers or do to many of the things they had hoped to be able to do. Furthermore, they felt that they were unable to perform as efficiently and effectively as they had in the past. Concerns about health increased at this time. However, most of these respondents appeared to be reasonably satisfied with their accomplishments and did not focus exclusively on "the ways things could have been." Most viewed their marriages as having been positive and they reported that their children and their spouses had been significant aspects of their lives.

Gould concedes that statements regarding the characteristics of individuals at each stage of life are broad generalizations. His data reflect individual differences. The specific ages at which changes seem to occur in the life span depend, according to Gould, on the individual's particular lifestyle, subculture, and personality.

Vaillant

Vaillant (1972, 1978) summarizes the findings of a longitudinal study, "The Grant Study of Adult Development," which was initiated at Harvard University in 1938. The original sample was composed of 268 first-year students at Harvard. All of his subjects were males. Vaillant reports that the biographical histories of these men confirmed certain aspects of Erikson's theory of adult developmet.

As young adults (ages twenty to thirty), the subjects of this study reported that marriage was the primary source of their energies. Vaillant found that intimacy was an important concern at this time of life. Gould's data also lend support to finding. Occupational success and advancement were of primary importance to these young men when in their thirties. According to Vaillant, career consolidation occurs during this stage of life. This process involves the acquisition, assimilation, and eventual termination of role models or mentors. Developing a close, meaningful relationship with an older, more experienced individual was found to be critically important for career advancement.

Vaillant findings reveal that interest in, and concern for, the family became foremost in importance to his subjects in their forties. This corresponds to Erikson's stage of generativity. However, many of Vaillant's subjects reported feelings of depression during this stage. Similar to the conclusions reached by Gould, Vaillant findings include some evidence for a "second adolescence" and a mid-life crisis occurring between thirty-five and fifty.

After examining the general mental health of his subjects over the thirty-five year-period and the defense mechanisms they employed over this period of the life span, Vaillant argued that life for his subjects was not a dramatic unfolding of crises, nor were the stages as age-specific as others have concluded. In contrast he hypothesized that life experiences which occur at appropriate, predictable times are not viewed as crises at all, but rather as natural, normal phenomena. Consequently, such experiences create little emotional upset in the individual.

Levinson

Levinson's (1976) theory of adult male development is based on an intensive study of forty men, ages thirty-five to forty-five. After analyzing the biographical sketches of each individual in his sample, Levinson attempted to pinpoint some of the characteristics, experiences, and significant events common to these individuals throughout their adult lives. The results of this approach led to the identification of several psychological periods characterizing the development of the adult male. In a more recent publication, Levinson (1978) extends and elaborates upon his stages. The theoretical aim of his research has been to identify relatively universal, age-linked developmental periods.

The first stage Levinson describes is referred to as "the early adult transition." During this stage, young people attempt to separate themselves from their families. Gaining independence is the major developmental task of this period. This stage corresponds to Erikson's stage of "identity versus role confusion." According to Levinson, individuals at this age begin to develop an adult identity and to explore possibilities for entering the adult world. The accomlishment of these tasks takes different routes depending on the particular experiences, background, and social class of the individual. This stage is completed when young adults become relatively independent of their parents and begin to strike out for themselves in the adult world.

The second period Levison describes is entitled "entering the adult world." This stage ordinarily extends from the early to the late twenties. During this time, a great deal of exploration and experimentation is taking place. Tentative commitments are made to adult occupations and adult relationships. The characteristics of this stage correspond to those of Erikson's sixth stage, "intimacy versus isolation." The major developmental task of this period is to lay the foundation for a provisional life structure. The individual undergoes a process of exploring, making tentative choices, and, finally, assessing the relative merits of each of these choices. Increasingly more stable, integrated commitments are made and the groundwork for a more ordered life structure is established. Again, Levinson notes that there are wide individual differences in the duration and outcomes of this process.

Many of the individuals in Levinson's study reported that they entered adulthood with a vision of what they would like to be able to accomplish in the future. For these men, this "dream" was, in general, connection with an occupation. This vision frequently undergoes reexamination throughout the life span to determine the degree to which goals have been accomplished or compromised. According to Levison, during major life crises the dream is reactivated and concern is expressed over the possibility of failure. Generally, the dream is redefined or even possibly rejected during the later adult years.

The third stage Levinson identifies is referred to as the "age thirty transition." This stage extends from approximately twenty-eight to thirty-two. As with each of the transitional periods described, this stage represents a critical turning point in the life of the individual. Transitional periods terminate the existing life structure and lay the groundwork for a new structure. During the "age thirty transition," some individuals progress rather smoothly, modifying certain unsatisfactory aspects of their lives but making few dramatic changes. For these individuals, this stage involves a reevaluation of the early adult life structure and a mobilization of energy. However, Levinson found that, for most individuals, this transition period is at least moderately stressful. Changes are made in the existing life structure and alternatives are explored for establishing a new, more satisfactory life.

The fourth period, "settling down," is characterized by security as well as vitality and productivity. Levinson notes that this is a stage of relative stability following the turbulent, stressful transition period. At this time, individuals invest their energies in their families and in their work. They seek to realize their youthful aspirations and, in doing so, the commitments they make are deeper and more stable than those made in previous periods. According to Levinson becoming more competent and advancing in their occupation are major concerns to individuals in their thirties. Toward the end of this stage, internal and external changes create new developments. A "disillusioning" process occurs in which individuals reevaluate their lives, their relationships, and their

goals. Individuals at this stage begin to question what was once meaningful and to reduce the illusions and false hopes of younger years. Many adults become more realistic and tempered.

One component of the stage of "settling down" is referred to as "becoming one's own man." This task is usually encountered and accomplished between thirty-five and thirty-nine. It represents the peak of the adult years. In their early thirties, most of Levinson's subjects sought the assistance of a mentor. Generally these young men respected, admired, and identified with supportive role models. However, it was reported that most men had terminated these close relationships by their middle or late thirties. Few had mentors after the age of forty. According to Levinson, the termination of the mentor relationship is one major component of "becoming one's own man." Furthermore, it was found that this relationship was valuable in helping these men to later provide guidance and support for younger individuals.

The next period is entitled the "mid-life transition." This transition stage is a critical turning point between two periods of relative stability. For some individuals, this transition may be fraught with confusion and turmoil, while for others progress may be relatively smooth. The major concern at this stage involves the disparity between one's aspirations and one's actual accomplishments. Levinson found that his subjects sought expression for their talents, aspirations, and desires. During this transitional period, individuals are forced to confront a decline in physical abilities and a growing recognition that life is finite. False hopes, illusions, and fantasies must be dealt with realistically.

Levinson's study reveals that in this stage of life many of his subjects allowed the more feminine aspects of their personalities to emerge. Previously, these men had denied and prevented the appearance of these characteristics. It is interesting to note that Jung also described this process as a characteristic of middle age.

Levinson study reveals that individuals in their middle forties were entering a period of restabilization. For some, this stage is a time of tremendous achievement and productivity. These individuals experience satisfaction and fulfillment in middle age. Life becomes more secure, ordered, and regulated. The future has meaning and offers excitement. However, for other individuals, this period is a time of tremendous threat. Unsatisfactory life structures have been established and there is a prevailing sense that nothing can be done to change past mistakes. These men find little satisfaction and fulfillment in their lives and have little hope for contentment in the future.

While Levinson's study does not include men beyond the age of forty-five, his work does include some predictions regarding the later adult years. He predicts that there would be a possibly stressful "age fifty transition" followed by a relatively stable period, occurring in the late fifties. Finally, he predicts that a "late adult transition" period would occur around the age of sixty. This transition would terminate middle age and would establish a foundation for the later adult years.

McCoy

McCoy (1977) summarizes the work of Gould (1975), Levinson (1976), and Vaillant (1972). Because the findings of these investigators have a great many similarities, McCoy combines and integrates their theories to provide a more comprehensive picture

of adult development. The stages she describes cover the age span from adolescence to late adulthood. She identifies a series of adult education programs which may be helpful to individuals experiencing difficulties mastering various tasks. Consequently, McCoy's efforts may prove to be valuable to researchers and practitioners alike.

The first stage discussed by McCoy is referred to as "leaving home." Individuals between sixteen and twenty-two encounter a number of difficult developmental tasks. These objectives include selecting a career, adjusting to peer relationships, and functioning independently of the family. These young adults are expected to develop the experience and skills necessary to enter a job, to establish an adult identity, and to adjust to life in an adult world.

During the second stage, referred to as "becoming adult," individuals between the ages of twenty-three and twenty-eight are expected to achieve autonomy, to select a mate, and to begin to settle into their occupations. Developing and maintaining intimate relationships with significant others is an important objectives of this period of life.

During the third stage, "Catch 30," adults between twenty-nine and thirty-four experience a number of conflicts. Many of these individuals begin to reexamine their values, goals, and relationships. For some, a crisis occurs during this period of development.

The fourth stage, "mid-life explosion" (thirty-five to forty-two), is described as a major transition period. This stage is characterized by a reevaluation of one's marriage and occupation. There is a growing recognition that death is inevitable and that time is running out.

During the fifth stage, "restabilization," individuals between forty-four and fifty are expected to begin to adjust to the realities of their jobs and to the growing independence of their children. This period of life is relatively stable and is characterized by participation in community concerns and in social activities.

The sixth stage is referred to as "preparation for retirement." Individuals between fifty-six and sixty-four must adjust to physical decline and increasing health problems. Furthermore, they are expected to prepare for retirement by expanding their avocational interests. During this period of life many adult will experience, and must adjust to, the loss of their spouses.

The last stage discussed by McCoy is referred to as "retirement." During this period of life, individuals ages sixty-five and over begin to disengage from their occupations, search for new outlets, and adjust to leisure time. Elderly individuals are also expected to find satisfaction and fulfillment in their past accomplishments and to become reconciled to death.

Stevenson

Stevenson (1977) proposes a comprehensive stage theory of adult development similar to those previously described. Stevenson's theory, which is based on the work of Erikson (1959), Maslow (1970) and Pikunas (1961), emphasizes positive growth and development throughout the life span. She, too, outlines the developmental tasks for each stage and points out that there are wide individual differences in the

accomplishment of these tasks. Each individual progresses at his/her own pace and in his/her own unique manner. The ages attached to each stage are only approximations. Consequently, Stevenson warns health care professionals to avoid using ages and tasks as absolute standards.

The developmental tasks that Stevenson outlines are similar to those of Havighurst (1952) and others. She proposes four major stages of adult development. The first stage entitled "young adulthood" covers the age span from eighteen to thirty. The major developmental tasks of this stage are developing responsibility and achieving independence. However, adjusting to a marital relationship, developing parenting skills, and finding a suitable occupation are other important objectives at this stage.

"Middlescence I" is the next stage that Stevenson identifies and describes. Individuals at this stage are confronted with two major tasks: (1) the necessity to assume responsibility for development and growth in the major areas of life (e.g., one's marriage, family, and occupation); and (2) the need to provide guidance and aid to younger and older individuals.

The third stage, entitled "middlescence II: the new middle years," covers the age span from fifty to seventy. The major developmental task is the assumption of responsibility for the enhancement and survival of the nation. Other important objectives include one's relationship with significant others, adjusting to losses, keeping abreast of current scientific and political changes, helping elderly parents, preparing for retirement, and adjusting to aging processes.

The final stage Stevenson discusses is "late adulthood." Aside from Havighurst (1952), few investigators have outlined the developmental tasks of the later adult years. Stevenson discusses the tasks and conflicts confronting older individuals in our society. The major objective in the later years is to put one's affairs in order and to share with younger generations the wisdom of age. Other tasks include pursuing hobbies, interests, or new careers which provide fulfillment and satisfaction; learning new skills; adjusting to major losses; and evaluating one's past life.

Stevenson also discusses the crises and major turning points which occur throughout the life span. She divides the life cycle into periods of relative stability and maintenance which are preceded by periods of formulation and establishment, followed by periods of dissolution and breakdown. Consequently, she (1977) states that, " ....the whole maturation phenomenon can be viewed as cyclic: buildup period, stable period, breakdown period, transitional period, next buildup period, and so on" (p. 127). According to Stevenson, maturational crises occur every seven to ten years during which time the individual experiences uncomfortable internal distress. However, these crises ultimately result in growth and development. They occur regularly and predictably throughout the life cycle, in response to certain internal and external circumstances. Stevenson differentiates between maturational crises and situational crises.

> Maturational crises refer to the developmental transitional stresses that recur. . . through the adult life cycle. Situational crises refer to extraordinary events that occur only in certain individuals, not in the total age group (p. 128).

Stevenson outlines the maturational and situational stresses encountered at each stage of development. In early adulthood an uprooting transition occurs between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. Individuals confronting this transition must adjust to being on their own, independent of their families. Becoming autonomous may be a difficult experience, and frequently an approach-avoidance conflict occurs. Between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-nine, individuals enter what Stevenson refers to as "provisional adulthood." Individuals at this stage are concerned with developing competence. Many seek a mentor or some older supportive figure who can serve as a role model and provide guidance. In examining the period of early adulthood in its entirety, certain stresses are encountered when the individual must decide upon, train for, and enter an occupation. Furthermore, additional conflicts are encountered in adjusting to a marital relationship and a new family unit.

According to Stevenson, several growth and transitional periods occur during the stage of "middlescence I." This stage is composed of two decades, the thirties and the forties. The first transitional period described occurs at the end of the twenties and beginning of the thirties. Stevenson uses Sheehy's (1976) term, "catch 30," to describe this transitional period. Others, including Gould (1972) and Levinson (1978), have also discussed this crisis period. Individuals at this stage begin to question where they are going in life. Many reevaluate and reassess their goals and priorities. This is a period of self-reflection, in which some individuals are forced to make more realistic choices, relinquishing the fantasized visions of earlier years.

Between the ages of thirty-two and thirty-nine, there is a period of relative stability. Stevenson employs Sheehy's term for this stage, "taking root." This is a period of vitality, productivity, and career ascendance. Energy is also allocated for family matters. During the late thirties and early forties, individuals experience a "catch 40" transition, during which time they must confront the disparity between envisioned goals and actual accomplishments. Stevenson notes that the entire fourth decade appears to be a major transition period. Individuals at this age are forced to recognize that life is finite. Many make one last attempt to achieve the success they had hoped for. The major problem seems to be a feeling of powerlessness or loss of control which may lead to a sense of despair.

Following this transitional period, many individuals in their early forties experience a short restabilization period. This stability seems to result from the confidence that develops from achievement, productivity, autonomy, and authority.

During the middle forties, some individuals experience another crisis. This crisis often arises because the middle ager has assumed a great deal of responsibility for others. Individuals at this age are frequently confronted with major responsibilities at work, the growing independence of their children, caring for their aging parents, and the recognition that they, too, are manifesting signs of physical decline. Many middle-aged individuals are likely to become tremendously overburdened. However, according to Stevenson, by the end of the decade restablization period begins. In fact, many subjects report a sharp contrast between their values and behavior at forty-five and their behavior at fifty.

During "middlescence II," around the age of fifty, many individuals report subtle personality changes. Greater patience and tolerance are displayed in relationships with

significant others. These are years of introspection, self-evaluation, and reflection. Men frequently become more nurturant and allow the more "feminine" characteristics of their personalities to emerge. The opposite occurs for women at this age. They tend to become more assertive and independent. In both sexes, a change in attitudes and values occurs; competence, mastery, and success become less important. Many individuals appear to be satisfied with what they have accomplished and do not seek to achieve impossible, unrealistic goals. Stevenson reports that individuals at this age are confident and self-assured. Although these generalizations are partially supported by the findings of Gould (1972) and Neugarten (1968), more research should be conducted on this age group.

Despite the relative stability of late adulthood, Stevenson notes that stresses are encountered, particularly during the middle sixties. Retirement, increased leisure time, changes in living arrangements, and the loss of significant others are just a few of the adjustments that must be made in late adulthood. In addition, health-related crises begin to occur far more frequently at this age than at any of the previous stages of life.

Sheehy

In her popular book *Passages* (1976) Sheehy proposs the final stage theory to be described. Sheehy's interviews of 115 middle-class men and women form the basis of her effort to determine the predictable changes that occur throughout the life cycle. In addition, her theory reflects her attempt to incorporate the research findings and theoretical endeavors of other investigators in the field of adult development. Therefore, her theory offers a comprehensive and broad picture of the adult years.

Sheehy identifies six crises or passages through which adults pass. She notes that growth and development do indeed continue in the adult years, but the developmental rhythms are not the same for men and women. Because the details of these stages have been described by other investigators and have been reviewed previously in this chapter, relatively brief attention will be given to them. However, because few investigators have been concerned with adult female development, more consideration will be given to this topic.

The first stage she describes, "pulling up roots," covers the age span from eighteen to twenty-two. As did other investigators, Sheehy reports that the important characteristic of individuals at this stage is the desire for independence and autonomy. Most theorists believe that a successful work experience is important to the development of an independent identity. However, Sheehy reports that many young women attempt to realize their identity through their husbands. Sheehy refers to this as the "piggyback principle." Some women become attached to their husbands, whom they picture as stronger. In actuality, these women are simply substituting one safe environment (their home) for another they perceive as safe. Sheehy believes that mariage, at this stage, results in a foreclosure of identity for these women. Even college educated women exhibit identity or role confusion since they are frequently compelled to choose between a career and parenting. Such a choice is not imposed upon men in our society.

The next stage is referred to as the "trying twenties." Individuals between twenty-two and twenty-eight begin to pay considerable attention to age expectations

and external demands. The emphsis shifts away from internal conflicts and toward external realities. Vitality and energy are keynotes of this stage as individuals begin to shape the visions and dreams that guide their future. One conflict that arises at this stage is that individuals are pushed in the direction of making clear-cut, final decisions about their lives. However, there is a strong desire to experiment and explore. Life patterns which begin to develop at this time will influence the individual's passage through the later stages. Women often experience fear of success at this time of life, and this feeling can create conflicts throughout the life cycle. Another problem for women is the lack of female role models or mentors. According to Sheehy, those women who do choose careers tend to attach themselves to male mentors early in their careers.

The third stage is referred to as "catch 30." Sheehy reports that during this time, her subjects tended to be restless, dissatisfied, and self-reflective. There is a desire for change and reassessment of one's dreams and visions. Individuals at this stage often make new choices or alter their original commitments. Couples experience problems at this stage as well. Both men and women seek to broaden their lives. However, conflicts frequently arise when some women, who have neither developed confidence nor independence, feel threatened when encouraged to expand. Many perceive their husbands' encouragement as resulting from selfish interests rather than genuine concern. Full-blown feelings of fear and of being betrayed emerge. Men at this stage frequently want wives to contribute something, to be productive. However, they want this at no cost to themselves. They tend to be burdened with their own desires to expand and advance. Marital instability, often resulting in divorce, is a frequent outcome of such conflicts.

Sheehy's next stage is entitled "rooting and extending." During this period, life becomes more organized, stable, and orderly. Individuals in their early thirties frequently begin to settle down. Men are concerned with career advancement and success. This is coupled, however, with a decrease in marital satisfaction, a reduced social life, and an increase in focus on rearing children.

Sheehy describes the predominant life patterns of the men and women she interviewed. For men, three patterns were found to be most common:

> Transients: Unwilling or unable to make any firm commitments in their twenties, they prolong the experience of youth.
>
> Locked In: They make solid commitments in their twenties, but without much crisis or much self-examination.
>
> Wunderkind: They create rules and play to win, often believing that once they reach the top, their personal insecurities will vanish. (p. 177)

Sheehy found that men in their early thirties, characterized by a "transient" pattern, often experience an urgent need to establish goals and make commitments. However, some of these individuals remain transient throughout middle life and do not develop a strong identity or feel committed to any particular goals.

Conversely, men characterized as "locked in" make their commitments early without much reflection and remain attached to these goals. Frequently, when entering their early thirties, these individuals regret not having used their earlier years for experimentation and exploration. Some individuals at this stage make the necessary painful changes; others remain locked in.

Men characterized as "wunderkind" tend to gamble and take risks. Work becomes the major focus of their lives. They usually enjoy success at an early age. However, according to Sheehy, they often show signs of immaturity in the emotional and personal sphere. Frequently they marry women who will take care of them without challenging them. Sheehy report that, on closer inspection, these men tend to be insecure and afraid of becoming too close to others. Later in life, many of these individuals fear the loss of authority and power.

Three of the five major life patterns that emerged from Sheehy's interviews with the women in her sample are presented below. The three most frequently occurring patterns are:

> Caregiver: A woman who marries in her early twenties and who at the time is of no mind to go beyond the domestic role.
>
> Either-Or: Women who feel required in their twenties to choose between love and children or work and accomplishment.
>
> Integration: Women who try to combine it all in the twenties—to integrate marriage, career, and motherhood. (p. 207)

Most women in Sheehy's sample followed the first pattern. These women choose to live their lives giving to and caring for others. They do not prepare themselves to compete in the marketplace. As a result, when their children become independent, they are confronted with feelings of emptiness and loneliness in middle age. While some of these women do return to school or seek jobs, others remain in the home because of lack of initiative and skills.

Sheehy reports that many of the women in her sample followed an "either-or" pattern. Some of these women choose to defer career efforts until after starting a family. Others choose to defer marriage and motherhood. A major problem for women who delay career endeavors is that disciplines undergo rapid change in a short period of time. To reenter school or the work world after many years inevitably produces difficulties. Sheehy reports that housewives suffer more from symptoms of psychological distress than do working women. Thus, this pattern of life may be fraught with difficulties.

Research on women who choose to defer marriage and motherhood in favor of a career indicates that they receive much support and encouragement from their fathers (Hennig 1970). In their early adult years, they develop strong attachments to their bosses who serve as mentors. Furthermore, they tend to avoid intimate relationships with unmarried men. However, according to Sheehy, by the time these women reach their middle thirties, they begin to show a renewed interest in marriage and children. Frequently, this sudden crisis leads to a moratorium from work. A large percentage of these women begin to allow themselves the freedom to enjoy life. Almost half eventually

marry. Sheehy reports, however, that there were some women who did not undergo any crisis at all at this time. Many of these individuals were, according to Sheehy, lonely and embittered in middle age.

Women characterized by the "integrator" pattern face different set of dilemmas. They try to integrate marriage, parenting, and a career. However, most realize in their early thirties that something has to go. According to Sheehy, they find it impossible to accomplish everything effectively. Consequently, most decide to give up either homemaking or a career, at least temporarily.

The next stage is referred to as "the deadline decade." Sheehy's study reveals that individuals between thirty-five and forty-five begin to experience a time squeeze. There is the sudden recognition that life is finite, that physical abilities are faltering, and that the time needed to accomplish important goals is diminishing. Many individuals begin to reflect upon and to reexamine their dreams, their goals, and their feelings about themselves. Individuals at this stage experience what Sheehy refers to as an "authenticity crisis." Sheehy reports that women and men reach this point at different times and experience this conflict in different ways. Women seem to reach this stage before men. There is an urgency to develop skills and talents never allowed to emerge. This sense of urgency, however, is coupled with feelings of excitement, invigoration, and timidity. There is frequently an increased sense of assertiveness.

For men, the situation and timing are very different. Men tend to experience the feeling that time is running out and the desire to advance at a more rapid pace in their occupations. The prevailing emotion is one of restlessness and staleness. Gradually, however, with greater success and advancement, career matters become less important. According to Sheehy, men begin to show an increased interest in interpersonal relationships and family concerns. They tend to become more sensitive and nurturant. As a result of this reversal of roles, married couples experience what Sheehy refers to as "switch 40." Men tend to become more affiliative and dependent; women more assertive. This reversal can be detrimental to the relationship or it can result in a stronger, more stable marriage if these changes are dealt with openly and honestly.

The final stage of life described by Sheehy is referred to as "renewal" or "resignation." In their middle to late forties, many individuals achieve equilibrium and stability. However, the degree to which this stability will be satisfying depends to a considerable extent on the individual's mid-life transition. Those adults who refuse to assess their goals and to allow for change and growth may find middle age to be an unpleasant time of life. However, those individuals who undergo a period of reevaluation and self-relfection and discover a new purpose and meaning in life, may find the middle years to be most satisfying. Studies report an increasing satisfaction with marriage for those in middle age. In addition, individuals in the middle adult years do not appear to be as concerned with what other people think. Many accept and approve of themselves independnet of other's standards. These middle agers are beginning to experience what Erikson refers to as integrity.

Neugarten

Not all of the investigators interested in adult development have examined this field from a stage theory perspective. Personality change across the life span is the focus of

the work of Bernice Neugarten (1964) and her associates. However, they do not characterize these changes in terms of age-linked. Their findings are the result of a series of cross-sectional studies of a sample of 700 individuals from the Kansas City area between the ages of forty and ninety. The investigators interviewed their subjects and administered the Thematic Apperception Test.

Neugarten reports that in general individuals in their forties believe the environment rewards boldness and risk taking. Furthermore, these individuals feel that they possess the necessary energy to deal with external demands. Conversely, individuals in their sixties view the environment as complicated and dangerous. Neugarten's study reveals that older subjects become more preoccupied with inner life experiences. In addition, they become less willing to deal with complex situations and to integrate a wide range of stimuli. Older men tend to be more affiliative and nurturant than younger men, while older women are more receptive to aggressive impulses than younger women. It is interesting to note that several other investigators have found similar personality changes in men and women in middle and later adulthood (Gould 1972, Sheehy 1976).

Another study performed by Neugarten (1968), in which she interviewed 100 individuals ages 40 to 60, indicates that middle-aged men and women in our society perceive of themselves as decision makers and norm bearers. These individuals display enthusiasm regarding their role in society. They report feeling confident and self-assured in their capacity to handle a complex, complicated world. Very few of these middle-aged subjects express the desire to be young again. Neugarten reports that introspection and reevaluation of the self are prevailing themes among these individuals.

The findings of her study indicate that whereas men begin to recognize the onset of middle age from cues they receive at work and from noted physical changes, women define their age status in terms of events in the family cycle. Both sexes report a change in the way time is perceived. Middle-aged individuals tend to view their lives in terms of "time left to live" rather than in terms of "time since birth." In general, however, Neugarten describes these individuals as self-aware, confident, and competent. They feel comfortable in their ability to control and master their environment, to process incoming information, and to make important decisions.

In other articles, Neugarten (1968, 1976) argues that a biological approach to viewing adult development is insufficient. She proposes a social framework to describe adult growth, in which she suggests that age norms and expectations have a powerful influence on behavior. Individuals in our society are well aware of the "social clock" governing the timing of events in life. Neugarten (1976) asserts that the degree to which certain events are perceived as crises depends upon the timing of these events. If an event is unanticipated or if it fails to materialize when expected, it will be "off-time" with respect to the individual's social clock. Consequently, this situation is likely to be traumatic and to result in a conflict or crisis. However, if the event is predicted and expected, the individual has time to anticipate and rehearse the experience, thereby reducing the possibility of discontinuity and trauma.

Neugarten disagrees, therefore, with other theorists who argue that certain events necessarily create conflicts (e.g., retirement, children leaving home, and menopause). She (1976) states that "in this sense, then, a psychology of the life cycle is not a psychology of crisis behavior so much as it is a psychology of timing" (p. 20). Consequently, her research both supports and reflects some of the statements proposed by stage theorists regarding adult development.

Lowenthal

As a result of her research in the area of adult development, Lowenthal (1976) suggests that maintaining intimate relationships with others may provide an amliorative effect on the life stresses experiences during middle adulthood. Furthermore, she contends that crises often facilitate existing relationships and provide a setting for the development of new relationships.

Lowenthal reports on men and women at four major transition points in life: high school seniors, young newlyweds, parents facing last child's departure from home, and pre-retirees. Because this study was longitudinal, each subject was reexamined over a five-year period. Lowenthal identifies two high risk groups. Middle-aged women in the early postparental stage are caught in several conflicts. They are anticipating, or actually confronting, the loss of their children. In addition, they express the desire for increased intimacy with their husbands, just at the time when their husbands are interested in expanding activities outside the home. Finally, they are reaching the age when they must begin to care for their aging parents.

Middle-aged men are another high risk group that Lowenthal identifies. Lowenthal asserts that involvement in close interpersonal relationships influences the degree to which these men are preoccupied with life stresses. Those individuals who are reported to be "overwhelmed" by their environment rate themselves low on capacity for mutuality and intimacy. Lowenthal concludes that, in general, having intimate, close relationships with significant others may serve as a buffer against traumatic life experiences. Because our society is undergoing a change toward more openness, sensitivity, and self-revelation among both men and women, Lowenthal argues that disruption and conflict may be reduced for these individuals in the future.

Consequently, after reviewing the research performed by Neugarten (1976) and Lowenthal (1976), it is apparent that many factors may influence the degree to which significant life events are experienced as traumatic. Differences between individuals in this respect must be examined more carefully. It is clear that transitional periods and critical turning points occurring throughout the life span do not create turmoil and confusion for all individuals. Future research and sophisticated analysis of the stages of adult life may help to reveal some of the antecedents and consequences of such significant events.

TABLE 2. CHART OF RECENT ADULT DEVELOPMENT STAGE THEORIES

	ADOLESCENCE (20 and under)	EARLY ADULTHOOD (20-40)	MIDDLE ADULTHOOD (40-60)	LATE ADULTHOOD (60 and over)
Stevenson	*Young Adulthood* (18-30) **Tasks** 1. Developing responsibility 2. Achieving independence 3. Adjusting to a marital relationship 4. Developing parenting skills 5. Finding a suitable occupation	*Middlescence I* (30-50) **Tasks** 1. Assumption of responsibility for development in major areas of life 2. Providing guidance to younger and older individuals	*Middlescence II* (50-70) **Tasks** 1. Assumption of responsibility for survival of the nation 2. Adjusting to losses 3. Enhancing relationships with others 4. Keeping abreast of political changes 5. Helping elderly parents 6. Preparing for retirement 7. Adjusting to the aging process	*Late Adulthood* (70 and over) **Tasks** 1. Putting affairs in order 2. Sharing wisdom 3. Developing hobbies and interests 4. Adjusting to losses 5. Learning new skills
	(18-22) *Uprooting Transition* Independence Autonomy	(22-28) *Provisional Adulthood* Competence Mentor relationship	(28-32) *Catch 30* Reevaluation Turning point Self-reflection	(32-39) *Taking Root* Vitality Productivity Career Ascendance
	(39-40) *Catch 40* Reexamination Powerless Loss of control Confrontation with death	(40-44) *Restabilization* Stability Confidence Productivity Authority	(45-50) Crisis overburdened Major responsibilities	(50-65) Mellowing and realistic Greater patience Changes in values Satisfaction Confident and self assured
				(65 and over) Stability Adjustment to retirement Adjustment to losses Health-related crisis
Sheehy	**CHARACTERISTICS** (18-20) *Pulling Up Roots* Desire for independence and autonomy Development of an identity vs. role confusion	**CHARACTERISTICS** (22-28) *Trying Twenties* Consideration of age expectations Vitality Development of visions and dreams Exploration Development of life patterns	(28-32) *Catch 30* Restless Dissatisfaction Re-evaluation of dreams Alternation of commitments Desire to expand Marital instability	(32-35) *Rooting and Extending* Life becomes organized and stable Career advancement Increase interest in family Reduced social life
		(35-45) *Deadline Decade* Time squeeze experienced Physical decline Re-examination of goals and dreams "Authenticity crisis" Restless Sense of urgency Switch 40	(45-50) *Renewal or Resignation* Stability and equilibrium New meaning to life Satisfaction vs. Disillusioned Dissatisfaction Despair	

TABLE 2. CHART OF RECENT ADULT DEVELOPMENT STAGE THEORIES

	ADOLESCENCE (20 and under)	EARLY ADULTHOOD (20-40)			MIDDLE ADULTHOOD (40-60)			LATE ADULTHOOD (60 and over)	
Gould	**CHARACTERISTICS** (16-18) (18-22) Desire for independence Preparation to leave the family Vague conceptions of the future Preparation to enter the adult world Peer-oriented	(22-28) Desire for competence and mastery Self-reliant Optimistic Self-assured Begin career advancement	(29-34) Re-evaluation of commitments Self-appraisal Age 30 turning point Crisis period Financial concerns	(35-42) Re-examination of values and commitments "Second adolescence" Recognition that time is limited Age 37 "mid-life crisis" Marital satisfaction at a low level	(43-50) Accepting and reconciled Stable Resigned Decrease in financial concerns Renewed interest in interpersonal relationships	(Over 50) Stability Concerns about health, performance and time Satisfaction with accomplishments Satisfaction with marriage	**CHARACTERISTICS**
Vaillant		(20-30) Marriage and interpersonal relationships are primary source of energy Intimacy is a focal concern	(30-40) Ocupational success and advancement are primary concerns Career consolidation Mentor relationship		(40-50) Renewed interest in family Some feelings of depression "Second adolescence" "Mid-life crisis"				
Levinson	(18-20) *Early Adult Transition* Separation from family Desire for independence Development of adult identity Exploration	(20-27) *Entering the Adult World* Exploration Experimentation Tentative commitment Foundation for life structure Vision or dream	(28-32) *Age 30 Transition* Critical turning point Modification of existing life structuring Foundation for new structure May be somewhat stressful	(33-39) *Settling Down* Stability Commitments to family Security and vitality Career advancement Termination of mentor relationship Productivity	(40-45) *Mid-Life Transition* Critical turning point Disillusioning process Re-examination of goals and dreams Re-evaluation of relationships Confrontations with physical decline	(46-55) *Restabilization* Security and stability Achievement and productivity Satisfaction with life vs. despair Concerns about past mistakes	(50-55) *Age 50 Transition* Stressful Turning point Modification of existing life structure	(55-60) *Culmination* Stability	(60-65) *Late Adult Transition* Foundation for later adult years

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Theories of Career Development and Occupational Choice

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The term "career" has been defined in a number of ways. Tolbert (1974) states that, "A career is the sequence of occupations in which one engages" (p. 26). Similarly, Super (1977) defines career as a "sequence of positions held during the course of a lifetime, some of them simultaneously" (p. 5). He argues that a career includes the prevocational and postvocational positions held by the individual. The use of this definition has enabled some investigators to examine not only those positions held by individuals during their working lives but also the preparation and training necessary to attain these positions as well as the various roles assumed after retirement. Such investigations provide a comprehensive picture of the individual's work history.

The term "career development" has also been defined in a variety of ways. From a review of several descriptions, it appears that career development is a process that continues throughout the life span and is an important component of general development. Tolbert (1974) describes career development as a "lifelong process of developing work values, crystallizing a vocational identity, learning about opportunities, and trying out plans in part-time, recreational, and full-time work situations" (p. 25). Tolbert maintains that this process includes the investigation and evaluation of various occupational alternatives. Although definitions abound, the description provided by Tolbert incorporates many of the proposed characteristics of career development (Zaccaria 1970). While some investigators distinguish between "career development" and "vocational development," these terms will be used interchangeably in this report.

Several theorists have examined the process by which individuals make a series of occupationally-related decisions at different stages of development (Havighurst 1964, Miller and Form 1951, Ginzberg 1951, Super 1968). Others have focused attention on the dynamics of occupational choice (Holland 1959, Roe 1957). These theorists are more concerned with the factors involved in occupational decisions than with the process. Theories of occupational choice seek to explain and to describe the variables operating on individuals which lead them to choose and to gain satisfaction from certain occupations. Many different approaches have been taken to clarify the dynamics of occupational choice. Some theories have given attention to the psychological makeup of the individual (i.e., personality characteristics, needs, interests, and values) which would lead him or her to seek, and be best suited for, certain occupations rather than others. Other theories of occupational choice have focused on the aptitudes and interests of the individual and the role these factors play in vocational selection. Regardless of the approach taken, theories of occupational choice focus on the individual's selection of a particular occupation at a given point in time rather than the lifelong process leading to the selection.

This article examines the theories of career development and occupational choice which have relevance to adult career guidance. Thus, a major portion of the article will be devoted to an elaboration of the specific aspects of these theories which will prove useful to counselors advising adults in career matters. In addition, theories which do not refer to adulthood but which may have implications for adult guidance will be described briefly.

Several of the developmental and self-concept theories of career development have given attention to vocational behavior in adult years. Some theorists have identified a series of stages of career development that cover the life span (Havighurst 1964, Miller and Form 1951, Super 1957). According to Blocher (1973),

> the life stage approach assumes that one crucial dimension in individual differences is the age factor, and that behavior can be neither fully understood nor appropriately modified without reference to the life stage context within which that behavior occurs. (p. 68)

Theoretical Formulations

Havighurst

Havighurst describes a series of vocational developmental tasks associated with each major stage of life. He proposes that individuals at various stages must recognize, confront, and master these tasks; otherwise, difficulties will be experienced at later stages. The function of vocational guidance is to help people identify and master these challenges, thereby enhancing individual effectiveness. He describes seven major developmental tasks covering the age span from early childhood through late adulthood.

The first two stages, "identification with a worker" and "acquiring the basic habits of industry," describe the major vocational tasks for children (ages five to fifteen). Havighurst refers to the third stage as "acquiring identity as a worker in the occupational structure." According to Havighurst, individuals between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five are involved in deciding upon and preparing for an occupation. Acquiring work experience is valuable for exploring and evaluating various alternatives, and it ensures economic independence from the family.

The fourth stage, "becoming a productive person" (ages twenty-five to forty), is characterized by an attempt on the part of individuals to master the skills of their occupation. Young adults are also expected to become competent and to advance within their occupations.

The fifth stage is referred to as "maintaining a productive society" (ages forty to seventy). During this stage, middle agers confront various tasks associated with their role as responsible citizens. The emphasis shifts toward the societal aspects of the worker's obligations. By this time, individuals are at the peak of their careers and, consequently, they are expected to help those younger than themselves to accomplish the tasks of earlier stages. In addition, attention to civic responsibilities and community obligations becomes a major challenge confronting middle agers at this time of life.

The sixth and last stage is referred to as "contemplating a productive and responsible life" (age seventy and over). Individuals at this stage are either facing retirement or have already withdrawn from the worker role. The major objective facing the elderly in our society is to review past achievements and contributions and to feel satisfaction and fulfillment. Acceptance and reconciliation do not come easily to many elderly individuals. Therefore while this task is difficult to achieve, its accomplishment has far reaching ramifications in the psychological well-being of the individual.

In conclusion, Havighurst identifies many of the vocational and developmental challenges confronting adults in our society. He provides a clear picture of some of the tasks encountered by adults in their jobs, at home, and in their communities. Since the accomplishment of tasks at one stage facilitates later achievements, counselors can be of benefit to their clients by helping them to confront and master these objectives.

Miller and Form

Miller and Form (1951) identify a series of vocational developmental stages similar to those of Havighurst. However, while Havighurst is mostly concerned with developmental tasks outside the vocational area, Miller and Form are exclusively concerned with career development.

The first two stages they describe are entitled the "preparatory stage" and the "initial stage." These stages cover the age span from birth to the completion of high school. According to Miller and Form, during this time children begin to identify with their parents and with important others outside the home. They begin to take on responsibilities in the home and to develop work habits. Greater independence and cooperation characterize the adolescent. Aside from becoming more willing and able to work, individuals at this age begin to acquire the social and technical skills necessary for job performance. In addition, the vocational aspirations of the adolescent become more realistic.

The "trial stage" extending from approximately age eighteen to age thirty-four is characterized by the selection of a job. Individuals at this stage develop a career orientation. For some, the first full-time job is short-lived. Confusion and frustration may result. For others, the first full-time position may produce feelings of responsiveness, ambition, and fulfillment.

The "stable stage" (age thirty-five to retirement) is characterized by an attempt to settle down in one's occupation. Social ties are established on the job and in the community. At this stage, advancement in one's occupation to the highest level possible frequently occurs.

The last stage is entitled "retirement." Individuals at this stage must learn to adjust to a new situation—that of being unemployed. Interests at this time tend to shift to the home. Frequently changes take place in security, health, and friendship patterns.

While most individuals proceed through the sequence of initial-trial-stable-decine in vocational development, Miller and Form report wide individual differences in career patterns. Their stages represent broad generalizations and, therefore, cannot be rigidly applied to all individuals. They identify fourteen career patterns. The four most typical patterns are the stable, the conventional, the unstable, and the multiple trial career patterns. The investigators report that the stable and conventional patterns were most characteristic of the middle class, while the unstable and multiple trial pattern generally characterized the lower class. As a result, Miller and Form suggest that career guidance programs should provide help for those individuals who are usually neglected, for example, lower class youth, who have a propensity toward later unstable career endeavors.

Miller and Form conclude that many factors play a role in influencing the particular career pattern followed by an individual. The socioeconomic status of the parents, the race of the youngster, the place of residence, the influence of peers, and many other variables beyond the control of the individual contribute to occupational choice and career development.

Ginzberg

The theory of career development devised by Ginzberg and his associates (1951) attempts to identify the major factors influencing vocational decision making during successive periods of life and is one of the first to examine occupational choice from a developmental perspective. According to Ginzberg (1952),

> our basic assumption was that an individual reaches his ultimate decision, not at any single moment in time, but through a series of decisions over a period of many years; the cumulative impact is the determining factor. (p. 492)

Three major principles underlie Ginzberg's theory: (1) occupational choice is a developmental process; (2) this process is largely irreversible; (3) this process is terminated in a compromise between the individual's interests, capacities, and values and his or her realistic job opportunities. The Ginzberg theory includes three periods or stages of career development in which this process occurs.

The first stage is referred to as the "fantasy period." During this stage, children act out various roles in their play and believe they can become whatever they wish to be. Occupational preferences at this time have no basis in reality and do not reflect the actual ability or potential of the individual.

Around the age of eleven, the "tentative period" begins. At this stage individuals begin to consider their interests, capacities, and values. However, because the adolescent has not yet realistically explored the available job opportunities, occupational preferences at this point are tentative.

The last stage is referred to as the "realistic period." Having decided upon some tentative choices, young adults realistically begin to expore and evaluate their alternatives. This exploration can take place in an educational or job setting. Subsequently, these individuals are able to make general occupational choices based upon their earlier experimentation. Once crystallization is complete young adults are able to specify and delimit their choices. It is during the "realistic period" that individuals must reach a compromise between their preferences (based on their interests, capacities, and values) and the actual opportunities available to them in the environment.

In recent years, Ginzburg (1972) has made some fundamental changes in his theory in response to research findings. The first, and perhaps most significant revision, is that he now views the process of vocational decision making as extending beyond a decade. He recognizes that many individuals today make career changes in middle age and that some individuals enter new fields after they retire. Furthermore, he maintains that the ages attached to the stages are far from accurate for many people. In recent years, the

exploratory and preparatory aspects of the career development process have been lengthened. For individuals who continue their education past high school and even past college, as well as those entering the military, career decisions made prior to the age of twenty may not be significant. Many women take several years to raise a family before beginning an occupation. Certainly the ages Ginzberg originally attached to his stages do not correspond to the career patterns of these individuals. Consequently, the career development process for many individuals in our society today appears to be reversible as well as lengthened. In fact, Ginzberg now contends that the major vocational task of adolescence is to experiment, explore, and keep all available options open rather than to crystallize and specify an occupational choice.

Ginzberg has chosen the term "optimization" to replace his original concept of "compromise." He (1972, p. 171) states that

> men and women seek to find the best occupational fit between their changing desires and their changing circumstances. Their search is a continuing one. As long as they entertain the prospect of shifting their work and career, they must consider a new balance in which they weigh the punative gains against the probable costs. Our studies of talented men, educated women, and career shifts after age thirty-five have persuaded us to move from the static concept of compromise to the dynamic counterpart of optimization.

As can be seen, Ginzberg views vocational development as a lifelong decision-making process. Individuals are continually attempting to find an optimal fit between their career goals and the opportunities and constraints they confront in the work world. If the satisfaction and fulfillment they expect in their jobs are not forthcoming, or if they find new opportunities which offer greater satisifaction, there is a good possibility that change will ensue.

Consequently, Ginzberg's revised theory has relevance to adult career guidance. Because a great many adults in our society face difficulties when seeking career advice, he suggests that vocational counseling be made more accessible to these individuals. At the present time the majority of career counselors are still located in the junior and senior high schools. On the basis of this information, Ginzberg contends that there has been a misallocation of guidance services.

Super

In devising his theory of career development, Super (1953, 1957) has been influenced by several major bodies of thought, including differential, developmental, and phenomenological psychology. His theory has been subjected to a great deal of research and revision. Currently, Super's theory is broad and comprehensive; it includes statements about a number of important elements in career development. Among other things, he outlines a series of stages of career development, notes the significance of self-concept in vocational development, investigates a number of different career patterns, and examines the notion of vocational maturity.

Super conceives of career development as a lifelong process. He describes this process in a series of life stages (Super et al. 1957). These stages represent a synthesis of the formulations of Buehler (1933), Ginzberg et al. (1951), and Miller and Form (1951).

The first stage is referred to as the "growth stage" (birth to fourteen). This stage is characterized by the gradual development of the self-concept. Children begin to identify with important figures in their environment. While fantasy and satisfaction of needs are dominant early in this stage, interests and abilities become more important aspects of vocational thought later in this stage as the individual is able to interact with others and to test reality. This stage is composed of several substages.

The second major stage Super describes, which he refers to as the "exploratory stage," extends from ages fifteen to twenty-four. During this time individuals experiment with various roles, explore various occupational alternatives, and critically examine their self-concepts. This exploratory behavior occurs in school, in part-time jobs, and in leisure. There are three substages included within this stage. During the tentative substage (ages fifteen to seventeen), interests, values, capacities, and opportunities become major elements in occupational decisions. However, choices at this point are only tentative and are tried out in fantasy, discussions, and work. During the transition substage (ages eighteen to twenty-one), reality is given more weight. While some youth enter the labor market at this time, others begin professional training. In both cases, individuals attempt to implement their self-concepts in vocational decisions. During the third and last substage, the trial substage (ages twenty-two to twenty-five), the individual decides upon an appropriate and suitable field of endeavor and enters a poisition within this field on a trial basis.

The third major stage is referred to as the "establishment stage" (ages twenty-five to forty-four). During this time, individuals make more permanent commitments and seek to establish and make a place for themselves within their occupations. These are years of productivity and creativity. In some cases, shifting from one job to another occurs early in this stage. In other cases, establishment begins without trial. There are two substages included within this stage. The first is referred to as the trial substage (ages twenty-five to thirty) and the second, the stabilization substage (ages thirty-one to forty-four).[1]

During the "maintenance stage" (ages forty-five to sixty-five), middle agers attempt to hold on to the places they have established for themselves in their occupations. Because some of these individuals imply continue as they did in the past, little new ground is broken at this time.

The "decline stage" (ages sixty-five and over) is the fifth and last stage identified by Super. Retirement occurs during this time and often accompanies a decline in mental and physical capacities. New roles are developed to substitute for those which have been lost. During the deceleration substage (ages sixty-five to seventy), vocational

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[1]In 1963 Super changed the name of the substages to (a) the trial and stabilization substage and (b) the advancement substage.

activity begins to decline and duties are shifted accordingly. Many individuals seek part-time employment to replace their full-time obligations. During the retirement substage (ages seventy-one and over), an eventual cessation of work occurs. There are wide individual differences at this time of life. Some individuals find satisfaction and contentment at retirement while others despair.

Super (1963) outlines a number of global vocational developmental tasks confronting individuals in the exploratory and establishment stages. The major task of early adolescence is that of crystallizing a vocational preference. Generally, during the tentative substage, individuals are expected to explore occupational alternatives which would be interesting and appropriate and to begin an educational or training program in preparation for jobs within their preferred occupation.

The major task of middle adolescence is that of specifying a vocational preference. Individuals in the transition substage are expected to narrow down their preferences. In addition, they are required to begin a more specialized educational program or to take a beginning job in the field of interest. In both cases, a commitment is involved.

Individuals in late adolescence are expected to implement their vocational preferences. For some individuals, implementation means taking a job; for others, it involves additionally, more advanced education.

Stabilization within a vocation is the major developmental task of the early adult years. During this time individuals are expected to establish themselves within a field of work which is compatible with their interests, abilities, and desires. According to Super, adults may make changes in their jobs or in their positions, but ordinarily not in their occupations.

The major developmental task of early and middle adulthood is that of consolidating and advancing in one's vocation. At this stage, individuals are expected to become established within their professions, to consolidate and secure their positions, and to move up the career ladder. This results in feelings of greater security and comfort.

According to Super (1957), while most individuals proceed through the vocational development stages he outlines, some deviate from this sequence. Based on the work of Miller and Form (1951), Super identifies several different types of career patterns in an attempt to describe the various courses of vocational development that may be followed. The particular pattern followed by any one individual depends on a number of psychological, physiological, and sociological factors.

Super described four male career patterns in depth. Those individuals characterized by a stable pattern enter a job following school and remain in that job for the duration of their working lives. Individuals characterized by a conventional career pattern enter one or more trial jobs after school before ultimately finding stable and suitable employment. Individuals with an unstable career pattern alternate between trial and stable jobs but never find a permanent occupation. Finally, men following a multiple trial career pattern engage in a series of trial jobs for short periods of time. However, none of these jobs is of a sufficient duration to constitute a career.

In addition to the career patterns described for males, Super identifies seven female career patterns. Some women follow a stable homemaking pattern in which no significant work experience outside of the home is undertaken. Women with a conventional career pattern have brief work experience after school and before they marry. Women characterized by a stable working career pattern enter a job following school and remain in that job for the duration of their working lives. Women with a double-track career pattern simultaneously integrate homemaking and a job outside the home. Other women follow an interrupted career pattern. They have some work experience following school. Subsequent to this they marry, raise a family, and then return to the labor force. Women characterized by an unstable career pattern never develop stable work or homemaking experience. Finally, women following a multiple trial career pattern have a series of unrelated jobs resulting in no genuine career.

One of the most significant components of Super's theory of career development is the notion that an individual's occupational preferences and choices can be best understood as an attempt to implement his or her self-concept. According to Super (1951, 1953, 1963), vocational satisfaction is a result of the extent to which one has been able to implement his or her self-concept and to find outlets for interests, abilities, and values. Super (1963) states that

> in expressing a vocational preference a person puts into occupational terminology his idea of the kind of person he is; that in entering an occupation he seeks to implement a concept of himself; that in getting established in an occupation he achieves self-actualization. The occupation thus makes possible the playing of a role appropriate to the self concept. (p. 1)

Super describes three major processes in the interaction between the individual's self-concept and his or her career development. The first process is the formation of the self-concept. Early in life, infants begin to form concepts of themselves and a sense of identity distinct from others in their environment. The formation of a self-concept is a lifelong process. Changes in the individual's notion of who he or she is continually occur throughout the life span as new experiences and events necessitate growth. Exploration, self-differentiation, identification, role playing, and reality testing are all hypothesized to be major elements in the development and formation of the self-concept. Each of these behaviors occurs at every stage of development, resulting in continual alterations in one's identity.

The second major process described is the translation of the self-concept into occupational terms. According to Super, individuals tend to avoid those occupations which easily allow for translation of the self-concept. Identification with an individual in the vocation and a desire to test the role. Experience in an occupational role may also lead to a translation of one's self-concept. Finally, the realization that one has characteristics which are purported to be necessary for a particular occupational role may result in an exploration of such an occupation. Consequently, the translation of one's self-concept into occupational terms occurs very gradually over the life span through a variety of different mechanisms.

The third major process is the implementation of the self-concept. This occurs when one enters training for an occupation or when education is completed and the occupation is entered. Self-concept modifications frequently take place after beginning

a new job when adjustments must be made accordingly. The maintenance component of vocational development, however, is most often characterized by an attempt to preserve the self-concept and to achieve self-actualization.

It is apparent that the relationship between self-concept and occupational choice is highly comlex. Career choice develops over time in close relationship to the development of the self. Various aspects of Super's self-concept theory of career development have been, and are presently being, tested. Much of the research has tended to support various components of his theory. Several investigators have found that congruence between self-concept and occupational concept is correlated with job satisfaction, occupational preference, and realism of vocational choice (Brophy 1959, Englander 1960, Oppenheimer 1966, Taegeson 1960).

The construct of vocational maturity is another important component of Super's theory of career development. In a recent extension of his theory, he (1977) elaborates upon this concept. Vocational maturity is defined as the ability to cope with the numerous vocational tasks with which one is confronted. Individuals are compared to others who are coping with the same developmental task. Thus, the greater the relationship between one's own vocational behavior and the expected behavior at that age, the greater the individual's vocational maturity. While Super and his colleagues (1960) have examined vocational maturity in ninth graders, few attempts have been made to measure vocational maturity in adulthood (Sheppard 1971, Super et al. 1967). Super (1977) suggests that while the important dimensions of vocational maturity in adolescence are the same as those in adulthood, the tasks are different in these two stages. He identifies five basic dimensions involved in vocational maturity. These dimensions are entitled "planfulness," or "time perspective," "exploration," "information," "decision making," and "reality orientation." Each of these can be assessed by Super's instrument, the Career Development Inventory. In 1974, Super devised an adult form of this inventory. Some research has been conducted using the adult form as a measure of vocational maturity. The findings indicate that adults who report having accomplished the tasks of earlier stages and who have given consideration to those of later stages tend to be satisfied with and successful in their careers (Super 1977). However, vocational maturity in adulthood is a relatiely unexplored area. Additional research may shed more light on the components of maturity and the relationship between this variable and others.

In recent years, Super et al. (1977), has proposed a "career rainbow" in an attempt to describe some of the major roles individuals enact throughout the life span. He describes ten primary roles assumed by most people during the course of their lives. A number of these roles are enacted early in life while others are not performed until later. Furthermore, the expectations involved in some roles change as the individual ages. Super also describes the four major areas, or theatres, in which these roles are assumed: the home, the community, the school, and the workplace.

Super has made several hypotheses regarding the relationship between role enactment and career satisfaction. He maintains that performance in nonoccupational roles may have an influence on the particular positions which may be occupied at a later time. He (1977) states that

> the more adequately . . . the adolescent plays his pre-occupational roles, especially that of a student and of part-time worker, the most likely he is to be successful and satisfied in his occupational roles. (p. 6)

Super reports a similar relationship between success and satisfaction in one's occupation prior to retirement and later life satisfaction after retirement. He also suggests that the greater the number of outlets individuals are able to find for their interests and abilities, the more satisifed they will be. Finally, he contends that success and satisfaction in one role often facilitates success in others, while difficulties in one may result in problems in other roles.

Roles tend to wax and wane in importance throughout the life span. The temporal importance attributed to the role and the individual's emotional involvement in it vary with the age and life span of the individual. For example, young adults may consider their roles as workers to be of primary importance. However, upon reaching middle age, this role may become less challenging and therefore, less interesting. Consequently, individuals may become less involved in the role at this age than they were in their younger years.

According to Super, decision points are associated with the enactment of a new role and the relinquishing of an old role. Decision points also occur when significant changes are made within an existing role. Some decisions are relatively standard and age specific while others vary with the individual depending upon his socioeconomic status, educational attainment, and occupational level.

Super (1977) proposes a developmental model of career decisional making. He maintains that this model may be applied to decisions made by individuals of may age. The dimensions of this decision-making process are growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. This sequence is predicted to be followed in order regardless of the age of the individual or the type of decision to be made. Super recognizes the importance of situational as well as personal variables which influence decision making, and he attempts to include these variables in his model.

Although Super fails to make specific statements regarding particular counseling procedures, many aspects of his theory may be useful to counselors advising adults in career matters. His vocational life stages imply that differences exist between people of different ages in the types of problems and tasks they will confront. Counselors who are knowledgeable about the details of each stage would be able to identify some of the conflicts being experienced by their clients and to define objectives accordingly. Because career development is viewed as a lifelong process, those individuals who are able to confront and master earlier tasks are expected to be able to cope more effectively with subsequent challenges. This suggests that if assistance is provided early in life, the individual may be better adjusted and more satisfied in later years. Counselors may attempt to assess the vocational maturity of their clients to be better able to identify their needs as well as their difficulties.

Exploration and self-awareness should be emphasized in counseling. Clients may need assistance in clarifying their self-concepts, interests, needs, and vocational decisions. The more occupational and self-information an individual has, the better able he or she will be to make intelligent, satisfying vocational decisions. Because some individuals of every age are likely to experience vocational difficulties, counseling should be made available not only to adolescents in high school, but also to adults in the community.

Crites

In his work Crites (1976) presents a comprehensive model of career development in early adulthood. He elaborates upon the stages of adolescence and adulthood described by Super (1957), Miller and Form (1951), and Ginzberg (1951), focusing primary attention on the period of time between the completion of school and job entry. According to Crites, vocational success or failure often rests on critical events experienced during early adulthood. Crites presents a more detailed description of his model in the last article of this section.

He identifies a number of job entry problems as well as on-the-job conflicts facing young adults. Individuals at this time face a shift in primary environments from the home and school to the factory or office. This is a difficult shift to make and frequently leaves many young adults floundering during this stage. Crites predicts that those workers who cope effectively with the problems of job entry will be able to establish themselves more firmly than those who have difficulties coping with entry conflicts. Crites (1976) describes the career adjustment process as follows:

> A motivated worker (1) encounters some thwarting conditions (2) either frustration (external) or conflict (internal), which necessitate adjustive responses (3) in order to fulfill needs or reduce drives. If the worker copes effectively with the adjustment problems, a tension or anxiety reduction response (4) is made and career satisfaction and success (5) are achieved. To the extent that the problem is not integratively resolved either with respect to the time dimension or social realities, the worker is less well career adjusted. (p. 109)

Crites maintains that congruence (i.e., the degree to which individuals "match" their occupational environment) and coping (i.e., the mechanism one uses to achieve congruence) are two major components of career adjustment in early adulthood. However, these components must be considered with respect to a host of sociological, psychological, and personality variables. The individual's sex, race, reference group, familial background, socioeconomic status, aptitude, interests, and personality characteristics have a powerful impact on congruence and coping and, therefore, on adjustment. Crites attempts to include each of these variables in his model and provides some suggestions for their assessment.

In an effort to determine the worker's ability to cope with thwarting conditions that arise, Crites uses a measure he developed entitled the "career adjustment inventory." The first part of this inventory, referred to as career involvement, attempts to measure the degree to which individuals feel involved in their careers. This variable has been found to be related to satisfaction and success. The second part of the inventory attempts to assess the extent to which workers feel their careers are regulated by external circumstances or by their own efforts. This section is referred to as career control. The third portion of the inventory attempts to assess the degree to which individuals have confronted and mastered the many vocational tasks they face throughout the life span. This part is entitled career tasks. Two other sections are currently being developed. Crites contends that this inventory will be useful in measuring career adjustment. Furthermore, he suggests that it be given to students before and after the intervention of a delivery system (such as the Career Planning Support System) in order to determine whether gains have been made in the use of

effective coping mechanisms for career adjustment. If such programs are effective in facilitating career development in young adults, these individuals should show higher scores in adjustment following intervention. Thus, this inventory may be useful in assessing the effectiveness of programs as well as in independently measuring vocational adjustment.

Holland

Holland (1959) proposes a career typology model of occupational choice in which he attempts to describe some of the determinants of vocational selection. His theory differs from those previously reviewed in that it is not developmental. He is less concerned with the process of career development than with the variables involved in occupational choice.

According to Holland (1959), each individual develops a distinctive lifestyle or personal orientation which results from an interaction between hereditary variables and a host of environmental factors. When making a vocational selection, individuals search for occupations which correspond to their personal orientation. Holland (1969, 1966, 1973) identifies six major orientations. The original names are included in parentheses.

> *The Realistic (R) (Motoric) Orientation.* Persons with this orientation prefer activities which require physical strength, coordination, and skill. They tend to avoid abstract problems as well as situations requiring interpersonal and verbal skills. They frequently feel threatened by close relationships to others. They view themselves as strong, aggressive, masculine, and conventional. Furthermore, they score low on sensitivity and social skill.
>
> *The Investigative (I) (Intellectual) Orientation.* Persons whose main characteristics are thinking rather than acting, organizing and understanding rather than dominating or persuading, and asociability rather than sociability. These people prefer to avoid close interpersonal contact, though the quality of their avoidance seems different from their "realistic" colleagues.
>
> *The Social (S) (Supportive) Orientation.* These individuals are characterized by need for attention and socialization in a safe, structured setting. They seek interpersonal situations and possess the necessary skills to feel comfortable in these situations. They tend to avoid intellectual problem solving and tasks requiring physical skills.
>
> *The Conventional (C) (Conforming) Orientation.* Individuals with this orientation are characterized by a concern for rules and regulations, excessive self-control, subordination of personal needs, and a strong identification with status and power. Such individuals seek situations that are structured and regulated. This orientation is best characterized by a willingness to conform to the values and attitudes of others.

The Enterprising (E) (Persuasive) Orientation. Individuals with this orientation are verbally effective and they employ these skills to manipulate, dominate, and/or persuade others. They tend to avoid tasks requiring intellectual effort and they seek situations in which they can attain power and status.

The Artistic (A) (Esthetic) Orientation. Persons with this orientation dislike problems requiring structure, interpersonal interaction, or physical skill. They tend to be asocial, much like "investigatives," but they are more feminine, have less self-control, and have a greater need for emotional expression.

Holland also identifies six major occupational environments which directly correspond to the personal orientations. These environments are referred to by the same names: realistic, investigative, social, conventional, enterprising, and artistic. Put very simply, an individual with a social orientation would be expected to seek a social occupational environment.

In Holland's view, a "developmental hierarchy" can be determined for each individual, in which the occupational environments are ranked in descending order of importance. The environment at the top of the hierarchy determines the primary direction of the individual's occupational choice. If an individual has a well-defined developmental hierarchy (i.e., a strong preference for one type of occupational environment), minimal conflict will occur when choosing an occupation. Conversely, an ambiguous hierarchy (i.e., one in which two or more occupational environments compete) will result in conflict or no choice at all. If individuals are prevented from seeking their primary choice for any reason, they will select their second preference. However, if there is no clear-cut second pattern, vacillation will again occur.

Holland also suggests that each individual has a "level hierarchy." This represents the occupational level toward which the individual strives. This hierarchy is influenced by a number of significant variables such as intelleigence, socioeconomic background, education, desire for status, and self-concept.

According to Holland, two factors are critically important in the selection of an appropriate occupation. Individuals with accurate self-knowledge and occupational information tend to make more adequate vocational choices than do those without such knowledge.

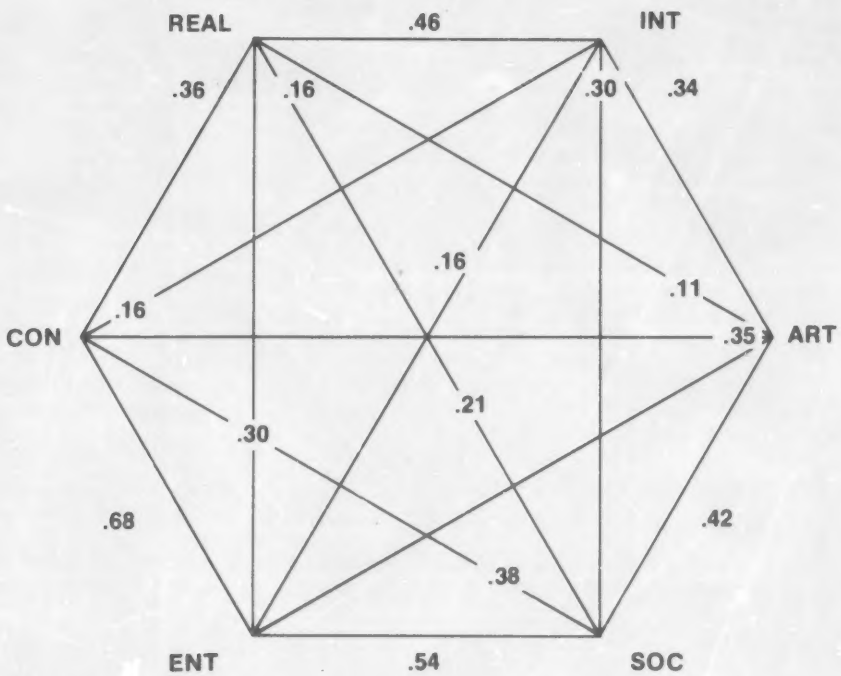
Holland has devised several instruments which have been used to test various aspects of his theory and which have also been helpful in guidance and counseling. The Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI) (Holland 1958, 1965) consists of a list of occupational titles. Individuals are asked to respond with a "yes" or "no" to express their interest or disinterest in the particular occupation. The items are scored in terms of several scales. Some of these scales correspond to the model personal orientations. This inventory provides a profile which indicates, in descending order, the personal orientations of the individual. For example, an individual with a profile of RIASCE (i.e., realistic-investigative-artistic-social-conventional-enterprising) would have a major orientation or "high point code" in realistic (R). Thus, he or she would most resemble the realistic type and would least resemble the enterprising type. Holland suggests using this inventory as a screening device for assessing predominant personality characteristics

in conjunction with other information about the individual. Support for the usefulness of this instrument as a classification device has been found (Holland 1966, 1968a, 1968b).

Another instrument devised by Holland, the Self-Directed Search (SDS), can be self-adminisitered and self-scored. It is similar to the VPI in that it can be used to assess the individual's similarity to the six personality types. Holland (1973, 1976) reports that SDS is useful in career counseling, especially in conjunction with another instrument, the Occupations Finder (Holland 1974). This instrument provides a classification system of the most common occupations along with each of their corresponding personal orientations. This device can be used by individuals to explore occupations which most resemble their personality patterns.

Holland (1966, 1968, 1972a) proposes that his occupational classification system be represented by a hexagon (see Figure A). Personality types adjacent to one another on the hexagon (for example, RI, IA, AS) are most similar (i.e., they have higher correlations), while those most different from one another are farther apart on the hexagon.

FIGURE A. HEXAGONAL MODEL



From J. Holland, D. Whitney, N. Cole, and J. Richards. "An Empirical Occupational Classification Derived from a Theory of Personality and Intended for Practice and Research," *ACT Research Report No. 29*, p. 4. Copyright 1969 by the American College Testing Program. Reproduced by permission.

The concepts of consistency, congruence, and differentiation (homogeneity) are central to Holland's theory. Consistency can be defined as the degree of similarity between the first two personal orientations in a personality profile. Individuals who have profiles beginning with orientations that are adjacent on the hexagon are said to have consistent, stable patterns. For example, an individual whose profile begins with RI (realistic-investigative) has a more consistent pattern than an individual whose profile begins with RA (realistic-artistic). A profile beginning with RS (realistic-social) is least consistent because these orientations are opposite to one another on the hexagon. Therefore, there are three levels of consistency: high, middle, and low. According to Holland, the level of consistency will influence the degree to which conflict will be experienced in selecting an occupation. Individuals with inconsistent patterns will find less stability in their occupational endeavors.

Holland defines congruence as the compatibility of the individual's personality type with his or her occupational environment. People are described as congruent if their occupation matches their personal orientation. Conversely, an individual whose highest scale on the VPI is conventional (C) and whose occupation is artistic (A) would be described as incongruent. According to Holland and Gottfredson (1976), incongruence leads to conflict. Individuals who are not in occupations congruent with their personality characteristics are predicted to be dissatisfied and unsuccessful.

Differentiation, or homogeneity, can be defined as the degree to which one orientation dominates all others in the hierarchy. The greater the difference between the individual's highest and lowest codes, the greater the differentiation. If homogeneity is low, there is relatively equal presence of the six orientations and the individual tends to lack direction. Conversely, if differentiation is high, one orientation dominates and the individual is directed toward a congruent occupation.

Holland and Gottfredson (1976) suggest that many adults change jobs because of person-environment incongruency. Others seeks changes because new opportunities offer the possibiilty of increasing congruency. If the individual seeking a change has a consistent and differentiated personality profile, he or she will easily recognize a congruent occupation when it becomes visible. Furthermore, such individuals tend to be good decision makers (Holland et al. 1975). Conversely, Holland and Gottfredson contend that individuals who are consistent and undifferentiated tend to make inappropriate and unsatisfactory choices. They (1976) state that

> at any age, the level and quality of a person's vocational coping is a function of the interaction of a personality type and type of environment plus the consistency and differentation of each . . . The formulations for the types clearly imply that some types have higher aspirations than others, that some types are more likely to plan than others, that some types are more apt to remain lifelong learners than others, and that some types are better decision makers than others. (p. 23)

Holland and his colleagues (1975, 1976) believe a career typology model can be useful for counselors dealing with individuals of any age who are experiencing career problems. Various instruments such as the VPI and the SDS can be used to help clients and their counselors identify some of the causes of career difficulties. Holland maintains

that the reasons for career shifts in the adult years can be explored though the use of this person-environment model. Furthermore, clients can be helped to find more appropriate, satisfying occupations. Counselors acting as consultants or guides may assist their clients in self-exploration, in gathering occupational information, and in exploring potential opportunities. Gradually, the client is expected to begin to make careful, well-considered vocational decisions. According to Holland, most individuals are able to make profitable use of the self-administered, self-scored materials and the unstructured exploration and experimentation. For those who are unable to benefit from these techniques, the counselor may provide more guidance and structure. However, in general, Holland reports that these devices have been highly successful for a large number of people. Thus, he believes these materials should be made accessible to adults in the community who are having career conflicts.

Schlossberg

Schlossberg (1975) who has also examined career development in adulthood is particularly concerned with the occurrence of career change at this time of life. This phenomenon of adult life has been overlooked due to the misconception that young people choose an occupation and remain satisfied and content in that occupation throughout their lives. Increasingly, research indicates that adults do not maintain one position throughout life. Schlossberg contends that the negative aspects of career change have been overemphasized. Her findings indicate that individuals change careers for a variety of reasons, including a desire for self-discovery, new challenges, widening interests, and emergent needs. Because so few studies have been done in this area, it has been assumed that career change is a rare occurrence. However, according to Schlossberg, career change is actually a constant in the adult years. Though most of the changes that take place are not drastic, nevertheless, they may be dramatic. In addition, Schlossberg reports that individuals who make no changes at all are frequently disappointed. Transformations in self-concept often occur when individuals fail to grow in their profession.

Because many adults experience difficulties in making career changes or in facing a lag in development, career guidance is critically important. According to Schlossberg, the notion of congruence is a significant one for counselors to consider when offering assistance to adults. Holland (1976) provides a detailed description of this important concept. Congruence may be defined as a compatability between the individual's needs, interests, and personality characteristics and his or her job. To the extent that congruence exists, satisfaction in one's occupation is expected to result. Schlossberg maintains that there are several reasons why inappropriate initial choices due to lack of knowledge about occupational alternatives and about themselves. In addition, certain events in an individual's environment may render an initially congruent choice, incongruent. Finally, because interests change over time, initially challenging choices may later become unsatisfactory.

Schlossberg's work includes attempts to develop a framework which highlights some of the salient issues in adult career development. She maintains that vocational maturity cannot be assumed to be related to chronological age. Vocational decision making and each of the major components of this process occur throughout the life span. As changes take place within and outside of the individual, additional career decisions and renewed self-examination may become necessary. Schlossberg suggests that congruence is a useful construct for explaining career change in adulthood.

Counselors employing a congruence model can help their clients to begin to uncover some of the reasons for career dissatisfaction and dissonance. Clarification is a critically important process which can lead to the exploration of new careers and the formulation of new goals. Schlossberg suggests that a career development delivery system should be developed for adults. Such a program may be implemented in community based settings.

Hershenson

Hershenson (1968) synthesizes a number of the developmental theories of career development into a single model. This integration results in a life stage vocational development system. He identifies five stages: social-amniotic, self-differentiation, competence, independence, and commitment. However, he avoids attaching ages to these stages and suggests that counselors attend to the stages of their clients rather than the ages. Hershenson maintains that his stages are sequential; thus, performance at one stage will influence adjustment at the next stage of development.

The first stage, the social-amniotic, extends from birth to the time of speech and sphincter control. This stage also includes those prenatal factors which influence later development (e.g., genetic inheritance and the anxiety level and general health of the mother). While the infant is in its most dependent state at this stage, events during these early years significantly influence later development. Energy is used for exploration of the environment. According to Hershenson (1968), "out of this stage must come the individual's affirmation of his own existence . . ." (p. 140). Social background factors and the familial environment are critically important to the individual's adjustment at this time and later in his or her life.

The second step, self-differentiation, is characterized by the individual's attempt to become an individual figure in the world and to become assertive. Children use energy to control their bodily functions and later to control their environment. Attitudes and values begin to develop at this time. In Hershenson's, out of the child's play experiences comes a tentative answer to the question of "Whom Am I?"

The third stage, competence, is characterized by the individual's attempt to manipulate his or her environment in an effective manner. Having differentiated themselves from others in the environment, people attempt to determine the limits of their competence; that is, they try to discover what they can and cannot do. Hershenson (1968) contends that "the attitudes and values developed in the self-differentiation stage determine the areas in which the person will seek to develop competencies" (p. 141).

During the fourth stage, independence, individuals select a goal toward which they can direct their energies and abilities. This is the person's first opportunity to make a choice from among several available alternatives. At this time, the individual's interests become a major factor in his or her occupational preferences.

During the fifth stage, commitment, individuals make an emotional investment in their chosen careers. In addition, this commitment is extended to other aspects of life, including one's family and the community. This stage represents the apex of the career development process.

Hershenson's (1966) work also includes a decision-making model of career development. Vocational decisions may be made by the individual or they may be made for him or her by others. Socioeconomic factors, such as social class and geographic region, place limits on the experiences of the individual. In addition, once a vocationally relevant decision is made, the range of available alternatives and options becomes more narrow. For example, the decision to go to a vocational high school limits the range of occupational alternatives available to the individual.

According to Hershenson, after having made a vocational decision, individuals tend to become more focused on a particular course of action. The goals becomes more and more inevitable. People begin to organize their lives so that their lives are consistent with their choices. Once committed, they become more certain and less likely to change their direction. Events are often interpreted as being congruent with their vocational plans. At this time, only a very discomfirmatory experience would be able to throw such choices into question. However, if the individual has only made a tentative decision regarding vocational selection, a minor incident may have the effect of changing his or her plans. Consequently, in Hershenson's view, the degree of commitment to one's vocational decision influences the extent to which the decision is open to alteration.

Tiedeman

Tiedeman (1961) also proposes a decision-making model of vocational development which includes several important developmental concepts also see (Dudley and Tiedeman 1977). According to this model, the process of making a vocational decision can be divided into two major periods: the period of anticipation or preoccupation and the period of implementation and adjustment. Tiedeman's model proposes that the processes of differentiation (the decision or anticipation component) and integration (the action or implementation component) are two of the major characteristics of each of the various decisions made throughout the life span. Similar to Super, Tiedeman maintains that career development is a lifelong process involving the implementation of one's identity in occupational decisions.

The period of anticipation is composed of four stages. During the first stage, exploration, the individual examines a number of different alternatives. Although the options being considered may not be highly realistic or related to one another, individuals at this stage take into account their interests, capabilities, and aspirations. Vocational thinking at this time is generally transitory and imaginary. Individuals imagine themselves enacting various roles and attempt to estimate the desirability of each of these goals.

During the second stage, crystallization, people attempt to organize or order their various options. They begin to move in a more specific direction and prepare to make an investment in the goals that seem desirable. However, this process is reversible and new explorations may follow. Tiedeman believes advance and retreat are possible at every stage in the decision-making process. In general, however, advancement predominates.

During the third stage, choice, a decision become imminent. The firmness with which the choice is made depends upon the crystallization process. After the individual

makes a choice, the goal tends to orient the individual's subsequent behaviors and experiences. However, the goal may be made with varying degrees of certainty, and this will influence the power of the orientation.

The fourth stage is referred to as specification. During this stage individuals further clarify and specify their vocational goals. Clarification allows them to reexamine their choices. Former doubts are reduced as the person perfects the image of himself or herself in the position. This process creates a potential for action. Thus, this stage concludes the differentiation process of decision making.

The period of implementation and adjustment is composed of three stages. During the stage of induction, the worker makes contact with superiors and colleagues and tends to be receptive to their suggestions and responsive to their expectations. Because young workers seek recognition and approval, they relinquish aspects of their identities in order to assimilate into the group structure. During this time, individuals learn what is expected of them and attempt to accommodate these expectations.

When the individual gains confidence and feels that he or she has been accepted, the transition (or reformation) stage begins. Individuals tend to become more assertive during this time. They attempt to influence the goals and activities of others and to modify the group goal to better fit their own needs.

During the last stage, maintenance, equilibrium reigns. The individual and the group work together harmoniously. A balance is achieved. Workers find satisfaction in the job and their colleagues and superiors are satisfied with their performance. However, new members or existing members may seek to change the system and may disturb the status quo. According to Tiedeman, this may result in development and growth or in disintegration.

Throughout the life span, many career decisions are made. According to Tiedeman, each new decision sets in motion the preceding sequence of stages. He states (1961) that

> vocational development then is self development viewed in relation with choice, entry and progress in educational and vocational pursuits. . . Hence, vocational development not only occurs within the context of a single decision; vocational development ordinarily occurs within the context of several decisions. (p. 133)

Using a decision-making model as a guide, the major objective of vocational counseling is to aid the individual in taking responsibility for exploring alternatives and for making and implementing carefully considered decisions. The client may need assistance in proceeding through the various steps in the decision-making process. Counselors may be valuable consultants by helping their clients identify realistic options, estimate the relative desirability of these goals, organize and specify their preferences, relieve doubts, make a commitment, and finally, implement their decisions. The ultimate objective is for behavior to become more rational and purposeful and for evaluation to become more meaningful.

Because vocational decision making occurs throughout the life span, the age of the client is not highly salient variable. The decision-making process should be the same

regardless of the stage of the client. However, individual differences should be a major consideration of the counselor. Some individuals will have problems with certain steps in the process; others will face difficulties with different steps. Consequently, the counselor must attempt to identify the problem very specifically and to design goals according to the needs of the particular client.

Roe

Roe (1957) theory of occupational choice that is in some respects similar to Holland's career typology model. Although she is not specifically concerned with career development during adulthood, she attempts to describe some of the developmental determinants of vocational choice.

Roe suggests that the early experiences of children in their environment, as well as their genetic inheritance, are influential variables in subsequent occupational selection. Furthermore, she contends that interests are influenced by the early satisfactions and frustrations experienced by the child in the home. Needs that are eventually satisfied after an unusual delay will become motivators. Thus, the pattern of psychic energies is predicted to be a major factor in determining the field to which individuals apply themselves. Finally, the intensity (or strength) of the need is expected to play a major role in the occupational level achieved by the individual.

Roe (1957) has hypothesized that the type of emotional climate in which children are raised will influence their attitudes, interests, and, subsequently, their vocational pursuits. Thus, children raised in different familial environments are expected to differ in their occupational interests. Roe based these hypotheses on her studies of various types of scientists. She attributed the differences in the orientations of their occupations, in part, to their early childhood experiences.

Roe identified three major types of familial climates. The first type is one in which there is an emotional concentration on the child. Parents with this type of orientation tend to be overprotective or overdemanding. The second type of home is one in which there is an avoidance of the child. Parents in this category tend to either reject or neglect their children. Finally, the third type of home is one in which the child is accepted. This type is characterized by either casual or loving acceptance of the child. Roe (1964) predicts that children from loving, protecting, and demanding homes would choose person-oriented occupations, while those from rejecting, neglecting, and casual homes would choose nonperson-oriented occupations. Her more recent predictions state that if the home was extremely overprotective or overdemanding, the child might, in defense, become nonperson-oriented. In addition, she predicts that children from extremely rejecting homes may become person-oriented to gain satisfaction for needs that had not been met in childhood.

Roe's (1957) classification of occupations is based upon the orientation of the activity (i.e., person or nonperson) and the level at which the activity is performed. This classification system may be seen in Table 3. Roe predicted that groups I, II, III, VII, and VIII were person-oriented occupations, while groups IV, V, and VI were nonperson-oriented occupations. This system has been displayed graphically in the shape of a cone (Roe and Klos 1969).

TABLE 3. ROE'S CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS

Groups		Levels
I.	Service	1. Professional and managerial (1)
II.	Business Contact	2. Professional and managerial (2)
III.	Organization	3. Semi professional
IV.	Technology	4. Skilled
V.	Outdoor	5. Semiskilled
VI.	Science	6. Unskilled
VII.	General Cultural	
VIII.	Arts and Entertainment	

From Anne Roe, "Early Determininants of Vocational Choice," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1957, 4, 217.
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Studies designed to test these hypotheses indicate that there is some support for the prediction that early experiences are related to later person-nonperson orientation, but not to specific occupational choice (Roe and Siegelman 1964). In general, however, Roe's theory has failed to recive empirical support (Green and Parker 1965, Grigg 1959, Haben 1960, Powell 1960, Switzer et al. 1962). There are several possible reasons for this lack of empirical validation. Many of these studies used retrospective data or questionnaires with little validity to assess parental child-rearing techniques. In addition, few of the studies have dealt with the effects of inconsistencies in parental techniques. Perhaps research in the future will be able to pinpoint more specifically the developmental antecedents of vocational choice.

While studies have failed to support those aspects of Roe's theory that attempt to relate the early familial environment to later vocational choice, her occupational classification system has proved useful in a number of ways. According to Tolbert (1974), "it groups together occupations with similar psychological climates, and adjacent groups are more alike than widely separated ones" (p. 52). A number of investigators have analyzed the occupational choices of those individuals making vocational changes. It was found that, in the great majority of cases, changes in occupation were made within the same group. In the remaining cases, over half of the changes were made to continguous groups (Doyle 1965, Hutchinson and Roe 1968, Roe et al. 1966).

A formula developed by Roe in recent years (Roe 1972) attempts to represent all of the variables entering into vocational selection, the relative importance of each, and the way these variables interact with one another. Roe includes in this formula factors over which the individual has no control (e.g., the state of the economy and family background variables), factors over which the individual may or may not have control (e.g., marital status), and factors which are unique to the individual (e.g., physique, intelligence, personality characteristics, interests, and special skills). Hopefully, future research will indicate the usefulness of this formula as well as any revisions or modifications which must be made.

Other Theoretical Perspectives

There are several other theoretical conceptualizations of career choice. Although few of these speak directly to career development in adulthood, they do help to provide a more comprehensive view of the dynamics on occupational choice and, as such, they have implications for adult career guidance. Theories which view occupational selection from a psychoanalytic perspective, from a need-reduction perspective, and from a decision-making perspective will be discussed briefly. A more detailed analysis of these approaches may be found in Osipow (1973), Tolbert (1974), Zaccaria (1970), and Pietrofesa and Splete (1975).

Psychoanalytic Theories

Sublimation is an important concept in the career development theories of those with a psychoanalytic orientation. Work provides an outlet for individuals to release unacceptable psychic energy and impulses in a socially acceptable manner. Furthermore, vocational selection is seen as a way for the individual to combine the reality and the pleasure principles (Brill 1949). While work is viewed as immediately gratifying, it also provides the individual with a foundation for future success. According to this perspective, the desire to satisfy unconscious impulses and needs underlies the selection of an occupation. These needs develop in early childhood as a result of experiences in the family. Occupations are proposed to differ with respect to the particular needs they satisfy. Therefore, individuals in different occupations are said to be different from one another in a variety of personality characteristics and primary needs. Job satisfaction is proposed to be related to the extent to which the occupational choices of individuals correspond to their personality characteristics and gratify their primary impulses (Bordin et al. 1963, Galensky 1962, Segal 1961). An occupational classification system has been devised in which several occupations are described in terms of their ability to satisfy various needs (Bordin et al. 1963).

This model of vocational choice is applicable not only to adolescents who are choosing occupations but also to adults who are dissatisfied with their positions and wish to change. Adult career counselors may find this perspective useful in determining the reasons behind the dissatisfaction and in helping their clients to explore available, more appropriate alternatives. The counselor would attempt to match individuals with occupations which would offer the greatest satisfaction of the primary needs and would correspond to their psychological makeup.

Need-Reduction Perspective

Other approaches have viewed occupational choice from a need-reduction perspective (Hoppock 1957, Merwin and DiVesta 1959, Schaffer 1953). While these theories are not psychoanalytic in nature, the two approaches share many common components. Job-oriented needs such as recognition, dominance, achievement, affiliation, prestige, and security have been examined. Findings indicate that the degree to which needs are satisfied determines the extent of job satisfaction (Schaffer 1953). Furthermore, it has been found that individuals in different occupations differ in their predominant needs (Merwin and DiVesta 1959). Again, a more detailed review of this approach as well as others dealing with the relationship between occupatonal choice and personality characteristics can be found in Osipow (1973), Tolbert (1974), and Zaccaria (1970).

Decision-Making Theories

While the decision-making process is an aspect of most theories of vocational development, some theorists have dealt with this process exclusively (Gelatt 1962, Hilton 1962, Hsu 1970). From an examination of some of these models, it appears that the vocational decisions made throughout the life span include such important components as information collection, identification of alternatives, prediction of outcomes, and subjective estimation of the desirability of each alternative as well as the probability of its attainment. The details of various decision-making approaches have been described by Osipow (1973), Tolbert (1974), and Zaccaria (1970).

Trait-Factor Theory

The oldest theory of occupational choice is referred to a the trait-factor approach. The early pioneering work of Galton and Cattell coupled with the growth of the psychometric movement were influential in the evolution of this theory. Parsons (1890) was one of the first to apply trait-factor theory to occupational choice. The vocational testing movement, including the development of aptitude tests and interests inventories, gradually emerged, based on the tenets of this theoretical framework.

The trait-factor theory has several basic propositions that may be directly applied to guidance and counseling:

1. Each individual has a unique set of characteristics (traits) such as aptitudes, abilities, and interests. These traits can be measured by an appropriate assessment technique.

2. Each occupation requires a unique set of qualities (factors) which are necessary for success and are possessed by workers within this occupation.

3. Satisfaction for individuals will result if the requirements of their chosen occupations correspond to their particular traits.

4. Although individuals tends to gravitate toward occupations which are most suitable, mistakes may be made due to faulty information about occupational requirements or to environmental pressures (Katz 1963, Williamson 1972, Zaccaria 1970).

Consequently, the counselor may be of value to clients by helping them to find suitable occupations on the basis of their particular aptitudes and interests. These traits can be measured by assessment instruments such as the Differential Aptitude Test, the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, and the Kuder Preference Record. However, according to Osipow (1973), few vocational counselors today use a pure trait-factor approach. This theory has been incorporated into other models of career counseling.

A Critique of the Current Status of Adult Career Development Theory

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The previous articles have provided a fairly extensive synopsis of the current theoretical formulations describing both adult general development and career development. The numerous formulations are thought-provoking but also mind boggling. In an attempt to clarify the many theoretical issues and themes, the following critique is offered. The critique consists of five topics: (1) adult development content themes; (2) adult development theoretical issues; (3) interaction of career development and general adult development; (4) implications for counseling; and (5) research recommendations.

Adult Development Content Themes

The foregoing review of theoretical descriptions of adult development suggest a number of basic themes which in many instances are common across theories. They are:

1. *The specification of developmental milestones, significant life events, transition points, crises, and tasks with which the individual must cope.* Examples include establishing initial independence from the family as a young adult; entering the labor force, forming intimate relationships; self-appraisal and identity; setting and implementing goals; coping with changes in one's health; dealing with death; and preparing for retirement and aging.

2. *An analysis of the interplay of the major domains of life such as work, family, recreation, health, and society.* The dynamic interaction of these domains provide continuous complex adjustments and trade-offs for the individual.

   Probably one of the most common examples is balancing time between work and family. A overinvestment in work usually results in sacrificing time for family activities.

3. *The deliniation of developmental stages by ages.* Most of the descriptions of adult development have outlined a series of stages through which adults typically pass over the life span, and within each stage are key events, milestones, and transition points as described above. The overarching macro stages are young, early, middle, and late adulthood. Their vocational parallels are work entry, establishment, maintenance, stabilization, advancement, and retirement.

4. *Recurrent life adjustment themes of adulthood.* Almost every theory emphasizes life adjustment issues (themes) which reappear across stages, e.g., Schlossberg, 1978 (p. 11) points out "they are not one-shot matters which,

once resolved, never crop up again; rather they recur throughout the individual's life." Theorists differ as to which ones are emphasized. They include issues such as identity, intimacy, generativity, change, occupational satisifaction, stability, health, and education.

Adult Development Theoretical Issues

Theorists differ as to the emphasis and interpretation of the basic dimensions of adult development, i.e., the degree to which adult behavior is explained by chronological age, life stage, social and/or biological determinants. These issues include:

1. *Chronological Age Versus Life Stage*

Although it appears predictable that certain major events and transitions occur consistently for most members of a given society at given ages, e.g., the transition from school to work between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two years, the events are not always that clearly age linked. Retirement can occur for some at forty-five, others at fifty-five, and still others at sixty-five. Marriage and settling down can also vary considerably by age. After reviewing the issue, Schlossberg (1978) concludes that behavior is at times a function of life stage and at others of age. Perhaps more significant is the event in the context of life circumstances and not the age per se. For example, just being thirty-five years old is not crucial, but being a thirty-five year-old mother reentering the labor force, or being thirty-five and recently divorced is.

2. *The Role and Significance of Events, Milestones, Transitions, and Developmental Tasks*

This issue raises a number of questions such as:

Are some events crucial as foundations for further development, e.g., establishing independence from the family, acquiring a mentor, and developing self-reliance?

To what degree are events irreversible?

Do similar stressful life events, e.g., death of a spouse, divorce, and loss of a job, produce comparable magnitudes of stress for most people?

Should most events be viewed as individual growth opportunities?

3. *The Importance of a Temporal Sequence in Developmental Processes*

Do most adults exhibit a fairly well-defined sequence of behavioral phases through which they must pass in order to effectively cope with a developmental event? For example, in the case of divorce, do most go through denial, anger, bargaining, depression, etc., before they resolve the event? If there are well-defined sequences, how can they be facilitated?

4. *Biological Versus Social Determinants of Adult Behavior*

To what degree do biological and social forces control our behavior? Schlossberg (1978) concludes that we are controlled more by social rather than biological clocks in adulthood. Except for menopause, most of adult behavior is tied to the social expectancies or the norms of the society. Most people are expected to marry between twenty and twenty-seven years; to complete school and start working by twenty-two; to "settle down" between thirty and thirty-five. In other words, in any society people expect certain major life events to occur during specific time bands upon which people assess their life cycle timetable.

5. *The Generalizability of Theories Across Populations*

To what degree do the theories of adult development apply across subpopulations of our society since most of the research has been based on middle class whites?

Do blacks and orientals experience mid-life crises? Are there differences in values as to which life themes are most important, e.g., marriage, generativity, work and religion.

Do subpopulations differ in how they cope with transition events?

To what degree do groups differ as to the mythology they attach to the life cycle, e.g., menopause marks the end of sexual behavior, or if you are not married by age twenty-five, there's something wrong with you.

6. *Recurrent Adult Adjustment Themes*

As was mentioned previously, theorists differ as to which basic adjustment themes are emphasized across stages. There appears to be fairly good agreement that most people are continuously attempting to cope with concerns of identity and intimacy. Who am I? What am I doing with my life? Am I experiencing a loving relationship? Do my children really love me? What will happen to me if my spouse dies?

But beyond these two themes, there are differences as to emphasis on work, health, education, generativity, and security across stages.

Interaction of Career Development and General Adult Development

Theories of adult development attempt to describe the process of growth and change over the life span. They seek to identify the general recurrent adjustment themes present in the lives of members of the adult population. Career development theories, on the other hand, are more focused in their perspective. Career development can be viewed as one specific component of adult development that occurs against the background of the general life adjustment themes.

It seems logical to ask to what extent do specific theories of career development reflect the issues raised by general theories of adult development. Some criteria for assessing the degree to which career development theories account for general adult

development are presented below, along with a brief assessment of the career theories presented in this monograph.

1. *The presence of the concept of lifelong development.* Adulthood is not a time of stasis. One must continually cope with the tasks presented by the process of aging and by the milestones and transition points of developmental stages.

The majority of career theories reviewed in this monograph seem to adhere to some model of lifelong development. Havighurst (1952), Miller and Form (1951), and Super et al. (1957), seem to be particularly cognizant of the lifelong aspects of career development. Other theories also recognize the process of lifelong development, but may not deal with the full "cradle to grave" life span. Some theories have extended this scope in more recent revisions. Only Holland (1959) and Roe (1957) have not incorporated the concept of lifelong development. Their theories were designed to focus on the dynamics of career choice early in life.

2. *The recognition that a person interacts with the environment during career development.* Individuals do not exist in a vacuum. They are influenced by interactions with significant others, by the focus of immediate institutional and organizational environments, and by the focus of the wider social/cultural environment.

Most theories of career development seem to recognize that forces outside the individual have an influence on the individual's behavior. Socioeconomic factors seem to be the ones most commonly noted, although heredity, psychological, demographic, sociological, and other general environmental factors are also mentioned. The career theories differ mainly in their degree of specificity in delineating the type and function of factors influencing the individual.

3. *The recognition that there is an interplay of the major domains of life.* The process of career development is not independent of the other areas of development, e.g., family, recreation, health. Development in each area is a function of development in the other areas.

This recognition is best exemplified by Crites' (1976) theory. He explicates the interaction between the process of job satisfaction and performance and the major life task stages. Havighurst (1952) also specifies the major vocational, home, and community tasks to be completed in each major stage of life. Most other theories do no explicitly incorporate this process in their formulations.

Implications for Counseling

The theories reviewed in this monograph have implications for the practice of adult career guidance. Some of these include:

1. *The need for developmental diagnosis and treatment of career development problems.* Such problems may arise for a variety of reasons and may manifest themselves in a variety of ways. A thorough understanding of career development and general adult development is crucial in diagnosing and formulating the best treatment interventions for problems which, on the surface, may appear to be similar but in reality are not.

2. *The recognition that certain career adjustment processes remain constant in their dynamics but change in context.* For example, the process of career decision making is a fairly constant one. But the context of these decisions may change due to age, life development stage, sex, race, or other demographic characteristics.

3. *The recognition that career development interacts with adult life stages.* These stages act as moderator variables in the career adjustment process and need to be taken into account when offering career counseling services. This will assist the counselor in making a differential diagnosis and in planning the appropriate treatment intervention.

4. *The development of strategies to assist individuals in coping with transition.* Many theories specify the stages adults may pass through in the process of development. The transition from one stage to another can be particularly stressful and may precipitate a variety of career problems. Career guidance may seek to develop strategies to assist the individual in moving from one stage to another.

5. *Identification of thematic problems.* Although career guidance must deal with a wide range of specific career adjustment problems, these problems can be grouped into a number of broad adjustment themes that recur over the life span, e.g., identity, generativity, etc. Such organization can provide additional direction and understanding for both counselor and client.

6. *The development of preventative programs and support materials.* Theories of career and adult development delineate the tasks which individuals must accomplish. Therefore, one can also develop programs which are designed to assist individuals in completing these tasks, thus preventing adjustment problems before they arise. Similarly, materials (e.g., guidebooks, self-assessment manuals) could be designed to assist individuals in preparing for and coping with these tasks.

Recommendations for Research

1. Although similarities exist among the various theories, much of the research upon which they are based has serious limitations. Many limitations arise from the type of research design that has been chosen. Cross-sectional research designs measure age differences, not age changes. Longitudinal designs can be time-consuming and expensive. Furthermore, because only one group of individuals is examined over time, generalizations are limited to this particular population. A better approach might be a cross-sequential design (Schaie 1965) in which several groups of individuals, at different ages, are studied over time.

2. Studies are needed which provide more in-depth knowledge of key transition events and career developmental tasks over the life span. Careful analysis of these events and tasks could result in more effective differential diagnosis and treatment of career development programs.

3. Neugarten (1964) has suggested that older persons view the environment as being more dangerous and comlicated than do younger persons. A further explication of the changes in perceptions of the environment as a function of life stages seem indicated.

4. Adults use a variety of coping behaviors in dealing with the tasks and transitions of life stages. Some of these strategies are effective in bringing about satisfactory life adjustment while others are not. An examination of these strategies and the factors which render them effective or ineffective would be useful to persons involved in the assessment and counseling of adults.

5. Research on the generalizability of theory on adult development is needed. To what degree and in what ways are adults of different subpopulations similar or dissimilar?

6. Career behavior research that employs a demographically diverse sample of adults with psychological measures appropriate for adults is needed. Empirical studies like this are virtually nonexistent. Special attention should be given to subgroups that have been overlooked such as alcoholics, drug abusers, and cancer and heart disease victims. A national study or studies should be conducted periodically to detect trends and changes.

7. Basic research should be conducted to more explicitly examine the factors which contribute to mid-life career apathy. Also, individual differences in coping with change at mid-life should be examined.

8. There is little evidence that career development theory is used in practice. More research needs to be conducted to identify which aspects of existing theories of career development might be useful to counselors.

9. More research is needed which would delineate the personality changes that take place as a function of life stage. This information might be helpful to the counselor working in the areas of career development, family conflict management, and marital therapy.

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Adult Life Stages and Career Developmental Adjustment

by
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In a previous paper, Crites (1976) formulated a comprehensive model of career adjustment in which the dynamics of how workers cope with thwarting conditions on the job were delineated. Briefly, the process of career adjustment was viewed as including (1) work motives, (2) conflict and frustration, (3) adjustment mechanisms, and (4) job satisfaction and success. The process was seen, as described, against a contextual background of such factors as the general cultural and societal milieu, organizational climate, psychological dispositions and characteristics, and personal and demographic attributes. That the career adjustment process is developmental was assumed, but how it is projected over time was not articulated. The model was conceptualized only for early adulthood; later life stages in the work life were not considered. Moreover, a fundamental problem concerning the outcomes of the career adjustment process was not examined: Why is it that the complementary components of career adjustment, job success and job satisfaction, have such a low empirical interrelationship (Crites 1969)? This paper addresses this issue by tracing the career adjustment process across the total span of adult life stages.

Adult Life Stages

The delineation of stages in adult life dates back at least to Buehler (1933), who divided the work years into successive periods of establishment, maintenance, and decline, however, probably the most widely recognized are the "eight stages of man" proposed by Erikson (1950), the last three of which encompass adulthood. These include: intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation, and ego integrity versus despair. Chronologically, they correspond generally to Buehler's stages; psychologically, they incorporate what Erikson calls the "epigenetic principle." By this he means

> (1) that each critical item [stage] of psychosocial strength discussed here is systematically related to all others, and that they all depend on the proper development in the proper sequence of each time; and (2) that each item exists in some form before its critical time arrives. (Erikson 1950, p. 271)

This emphasis upon the recursive nature of psychosocial development has had a pervasive influence upon more recent theory and research on stages in adulthood. Gould's (1975) analysis of the "growth toward self-tolerance" reflects it, as do the empirical studies by Maas and Kuypers (1974) on contexts, lifestyle, and personality and by Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga (1975) on mechanisms used to cope with stress. Adult life stages not only have content (e.g., developmental tasks) but also follow certain discernible and systematic processes as they occur (e.g., "epigenetic principle").

The interface between life and career stages in adulthood has been largely assumed, rather than explicated, in general developmental models, with the exception of Havighurst's (1964) synthesis of Erikson's stages with those identified by Super (1957). Havighurst enumerates three periods, which span the time from occupational entry to the advent of retirement: becoming a productive person (twenty-five to forty), maintaining a productive society (forty to seventy), and contemplating a productive and responsible life (seventy to death) (Havighurst 1964). These career stages correspond to those of Miller and Form (1951, 1964) and Super (1957) as shown in Figure 1.

In a more recently conceived model Super (1977) identifies the behavioral dimensions of career maturity at mid-life. These behaivoral dimensions are listed in Table 1.

Comparing these behaviors with those expected in adolescence, Super observes that "although the content of decisions differs, decision-making principles are the same at any age and in dealing with any life stage" (Super 1977, p. 296). This conclusion agrees with the research of Hall and Nougaim (1968) and Thompson and Dalton (1976) on career stages in organizations. As with general adult life stages, career stages have two facets—content and process.

Synthesis

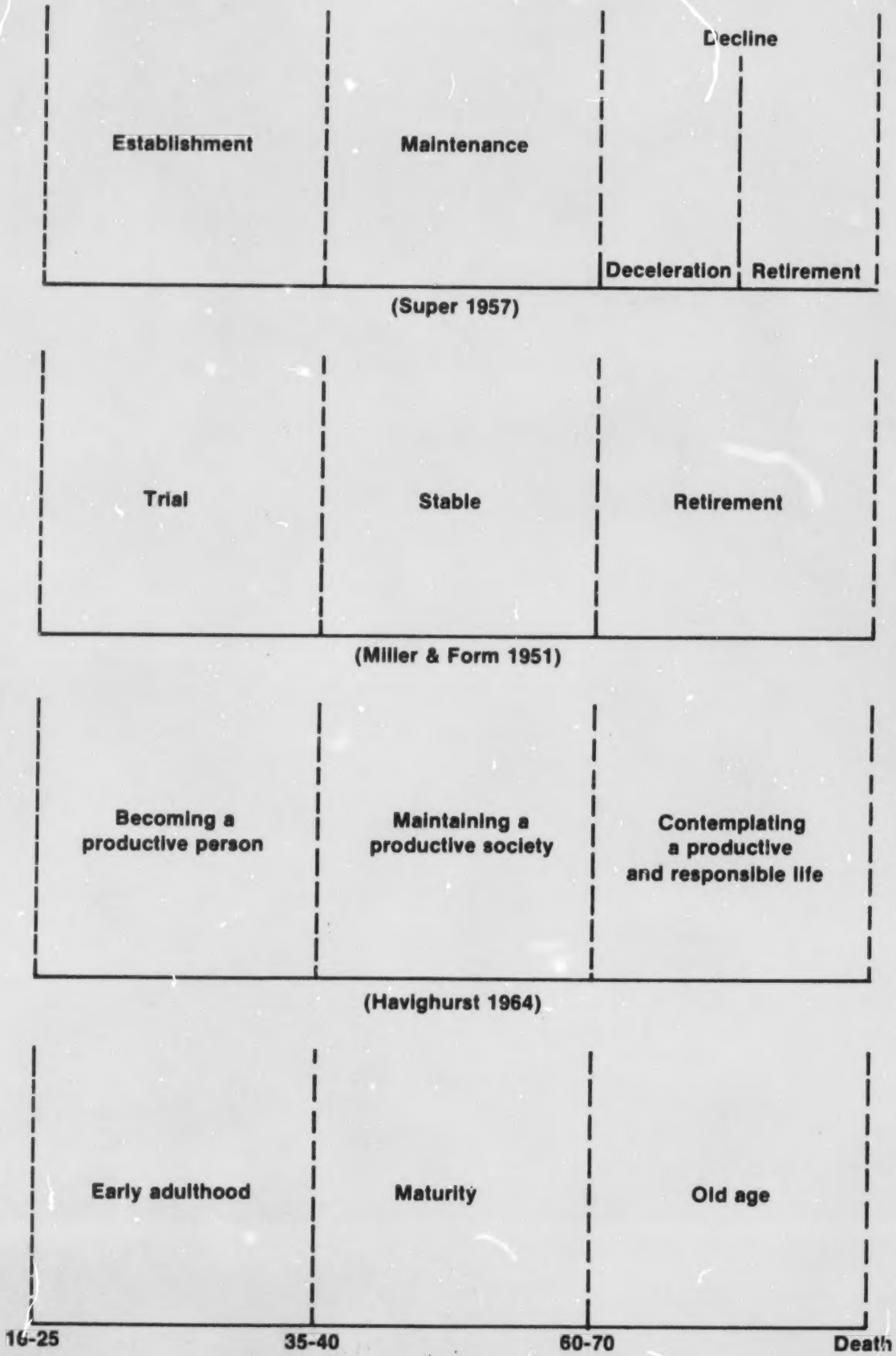
Hall (1976) summarizes the different conceptual schemata of adult life and career stages as shown in Table 2. To synthesize them, it is necessary to combine the content *and* process aspects of the stage phenomenon.

The most comprehensive and specific content comes from Super's (1957, 1977) model. Not only does he specify theoretical dimensions of adult career development, but he has also constructed an Adult Form of the Career Development Inventory (CDI) to measure some of these variables. Crites (1976) has also devised an assessment instrument for the various components in his model of career adjustment, called the CAREER Adjustment and Development Inventory (CAREER ADI), which parallels and extends the CDI. The CAREER ADI focuses principally upon the process of career adjustment which changes in content from one adult life-career stage to another, but which remains constant in its dynamics over time (see below). This process presumes Erikson's "epigenetic principle" and thus synthesizes it with the content of Super's model of career maturity in adulthood. The *content* may vary across special career groups, e.g., returning women, military retirees, handicapped and disabled, and minorities; but the *process* appears to be universally applicable.

Career Adjustment

The elements of this process are depicted in Figure 2 (Crites 1976). According to the model, a worker is motivated by certain needs or drives (Astin 1958, Bendig and Stillman 1958, Crites 1961) to attain a desired degree of job satisfaction and success. Given that there are not obstacles to the achievement of these goals, no adjustments are necessary. But, if there are thwarting conditions, either external frustration or internal conflicts (Crites 1969), which intervene between goal attainment and motivation, then the worker must respond to the anxiety/tension which this "blocking" generates. How effectively the worker responds ultimately determines the quality of his or her career

FIGURE 1



From J.O. Crites, Developmental stages in vocational adjustment as proposed by Super (1957; Super et al, 1963), Miller, D.C., and Form (1951, 1964), and Havighurst (1964), in *Vocational Psychology*, p. 536. Copyright 1969 by McGraw Hill, Inc. Reproduced by permission.

TABLE 1
A Theoretical Model of Vocational Maturity in Mid-Career
(from Super 1977, p. 297)

I. Planfulness or Time Perspective

A. Past: Exploration
   1. Crystallizing
   2. Specifying
   3. Implementing

B. Present and immediate future: Establishment
   4. Stabilizing
   5. Consolidation
   6. Advancement

C. Intermediate future: Maintenance
   7. Holding one's own
   8. Keeping up with developments
   9. Breaking new ground

D. Distant future: Decline
   10. Tapering off
   11. Preparing for retirement
   12. Retiring

II. Exploration

E. Querying
   1. Self
      a. in time perspective
      b. in space (organizational, geographic)
   2. Situation
      a. in time perspective
      b. in space (organizational, geographic)

F. Resources (attitudes toward)
   1. Awareness of
   2. Valuation of

G. Participation (use of resources)
   1. In-house resources (sponsored)
   2. Community resources (sought-out)

III. Information

H. Life stages
   1. Time spans
   2. Characteristics
   3. Developmental tasks

I. Coping behaviors: Repertoire
   4. Options in coping with vocational development tasks
   5. Appropriateness of options for self-in-situation

J. Occupational outlets for self-in-situation

K. Job outlets for self-in-situation

L. Implementation: Means of access to opportunities

M. Outcome probabilities

IV. Decision making

N. Principles
   1. Knowledge of
   2. Valuation of (utility)

O. Practice
   3. Use of in past
   4. Use of at present

V. Reality Orientation

P. Self-knowledge
   1. Agreement self-estimated and measured traits
   2. Agreement self-estimated and other estimated traits

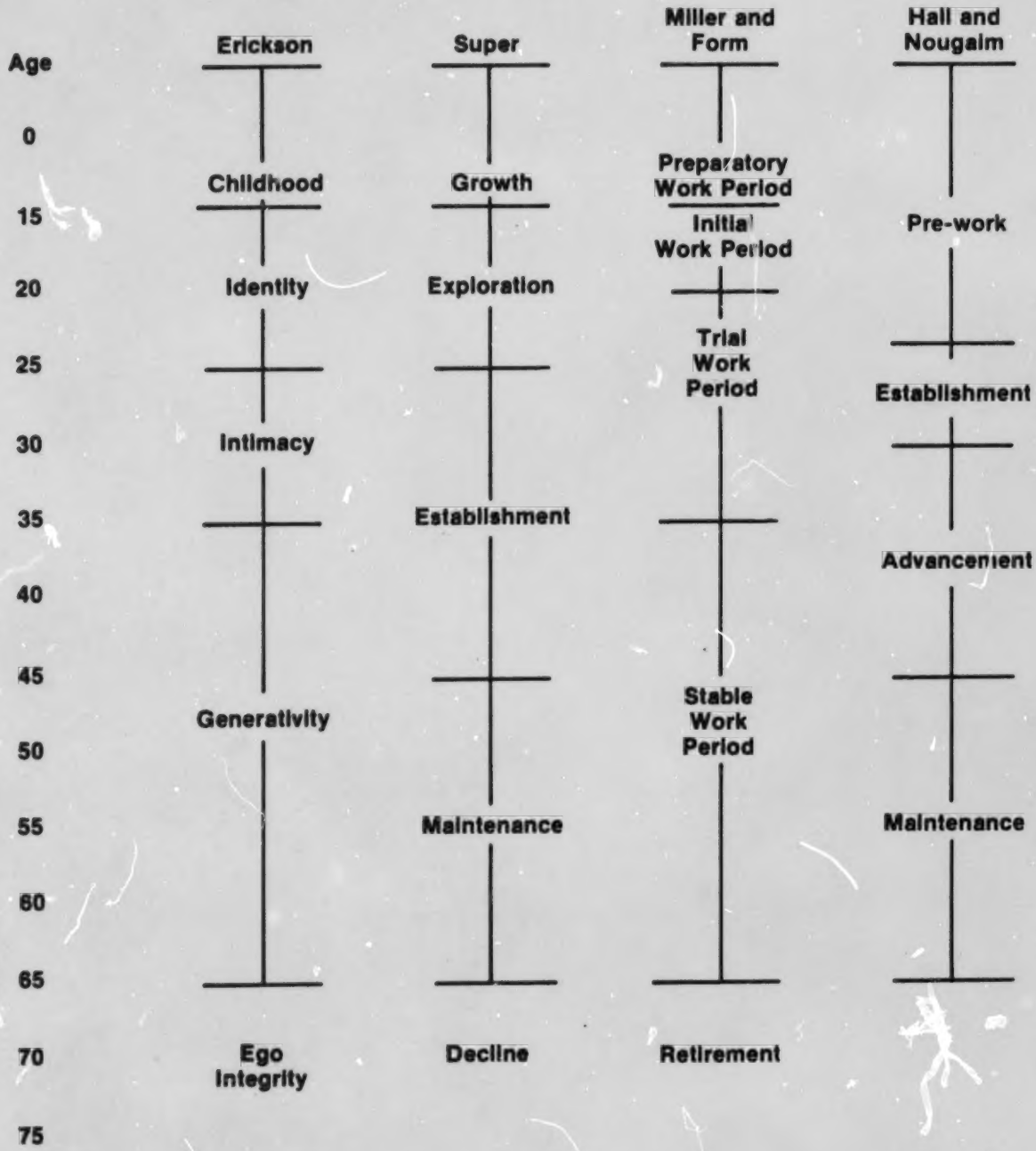
Q. Realism
   3. Agreement self- and employer-evaluated proficiency
   4. Agreement self- and employer-evaluated prospects

R. Consistency of occupational preferences
   5. Current
   6. Over time

S. Crystallization
   7. Clarity of vocational self-concept
   8. Certainty of career goals

T. Work experience
   9. Floundering vs. stabilizing in mid-career
   10. Stabilizing or maintaining vs. declining in mid-career

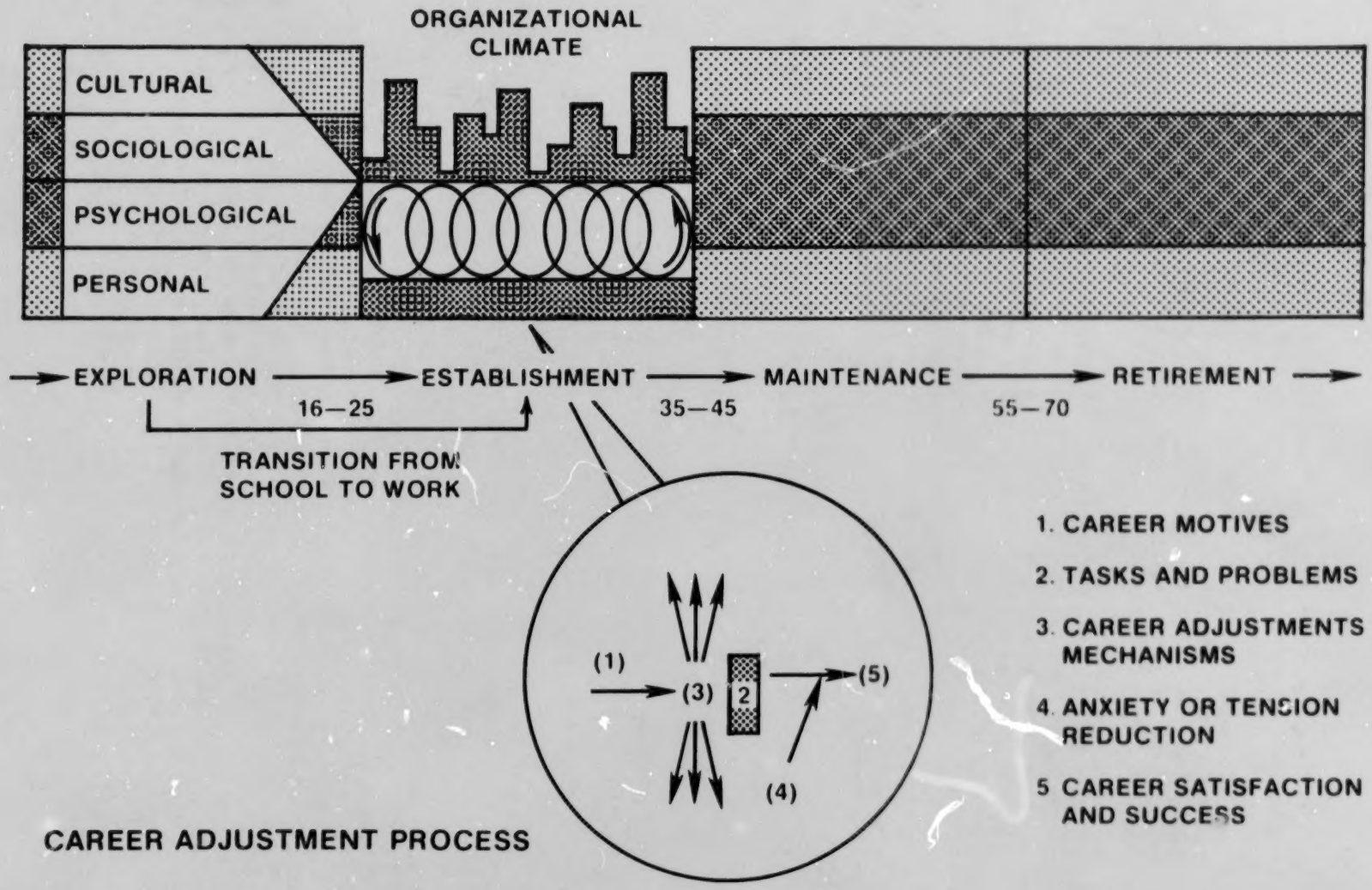
TABLE 2
Summary of Career stage Models



From D.T. Hall, summary of Career Stage Models in *Careers in Organizations*, p. 56. Copyright 1976 by Goodyear Publishing Company. Reproduced by permission.

FIGURE 2

COMPREHENSIVE MODEL



From J.O. Crites, A comprehensive model of career adjustment in early adulthood. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 1976, 9, 111. Copyright 1976 by Academic Press. Reproduced by permission.

adjustment. These responses (coping mechanisms) may be more or less integrative, depending upon the extent to which they resolve (eliminate) the thwarting conditions. Projected over time, the criteria (outcomes) of how well the worker has adjusted are the worker's job satisfaction and success. These are considered to be the two principal components of career adjustment, and they are assumed to be complementary (Lurie and Weiss 1942, Heron 1952, Heron 1954, Gellman 1953, Lofquist and Dawis 1968)—that is, the satisfied worker should be successful, and the successful worker should be satisfied.

The accumulated empirial research on the interrelationship of job satisfaction and success indicates, however, that they are only neglibigly correlated. In their classical review of the literature on this relationship, Brayfield and Crockett (1955) concluded that, however defined, job satisfaction and success were essentially unrelated. Similarly, from studies conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, Kahn (1960, pp. 275; 285-286) observed that "productivity [success] and job satisfaction do not necessarily go together" and that "we should abandon, in our future research, the use of satisfaction or morale indexes as variables intervening between supervisory and organizational characteristics on the one hand, and productivity on the other." Corroborative conclusions have been drawn by Vroom (1964, p. 186) from an additional twenty studies:

1. There is a consistent negative relationship between job satisfaction and the probability of resignation . . .

2. There is a less consistent negative relationship between job satisfaction and absences . . .

3. There is some indication of a negative relationship between job satisfaction and accidents . . . and

4. There is not simple relationship between job satisfaction and job performance.

This last conclusion has prompted several attempts to explain *why* there is little or no empirical relationship between job satisfaction and success. Most of these explanations have posited some "third variable" as a moderator which accounts for the low (nonsignificant) correlation of job satisfaction with success. For example, Brayfield and Crockett (1955) have proposed that the most salient conditions which may affect the interaction of satisfaction and success are those found in the worker's social environment (1) outside the plant, (2) in relations with co-workers on the job, (3) within the union structure, and (4) in the company (organizational) structure. Morse (1953) has suggested that "strength of needs" is a third variable which may affect both job satisfaction and success. She hypothesizes that ". . . if a worker's job is rewarding, and if he [sic] has strong needs, then he will be productive and satisfied. If his job is not rewarding, however, his strong needs will make him productive, but he will be dissatisfied" (Crites 1969, pp. 521-522). Probably the most systematic explanation of this relationship has been that of Triandis (1959), who has hypothesized a "pressure for high production" factor, which has differential effects upon the correlation between job satisfaction and success across the time dimension (Crites 1969).

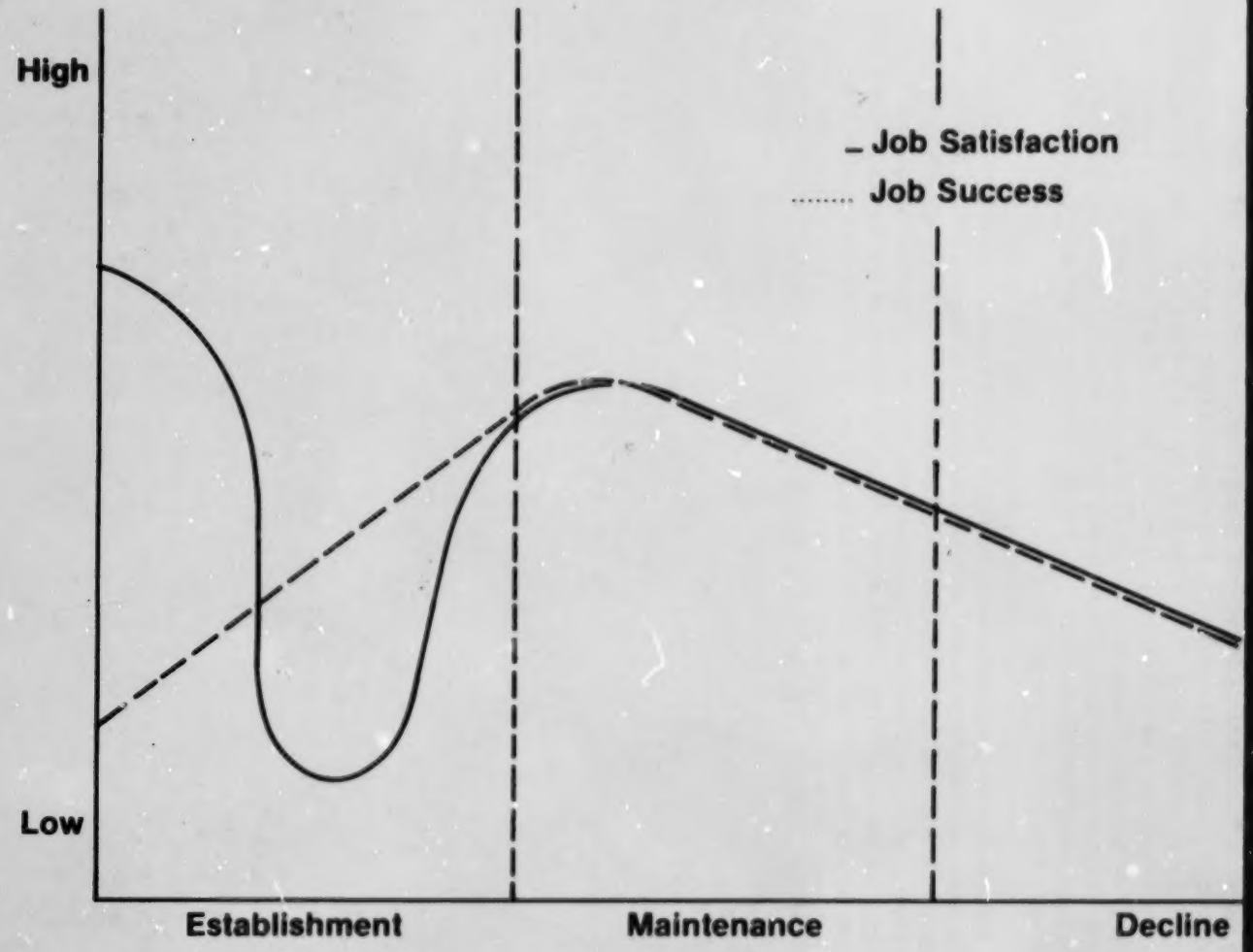
None of these "third variable" explanations of the low relationship between job satisfaction and success has posited adult life stages as a factor which may affect these two supposedly complementary components of career adjustment. Consider, however, first, the developmental trends in job satisfaction and job success, and second, the longitudinal interface between them as the process of career adjustment unfolds. There is considerable documentation that job satisfaction follows a cyclical curve, which starts at a high level (upon occupational entry); dips to its nadir during the middle of the establishment stage, when initial expectations of rapid advancement are delayed or thwarted; and then recovers, although not to the previous high level, to an asymptote at about age forty (Benge and Copwell 1947; Crites 1969). In contrast, job success begins at a low ebb and increases linearly from occupational entry to mid-life when an incipient decline sets in. This occurs at the onset of Super's maintenance stage and continues until retirement. Thus, the developmental trends in job satisfaction and success are different across the adult life stages, with the possible exception of their coincidence during mid-career (approximately age forty).

It is their intersect in midescence that provides a hypothesis to explain the lack of a relationship between job satisfaction and success. As shown in Figure 3, it is during the period between thirty-five and forty that the developmental trends in job satisfaction and success have their highest correlation. In contrast, the lowest correlation would be expected to occur at the beginning of the work life, at the outset of the establishment stage, when job satisfaction is high and job success is low. Intermediate correlations would occur between early establishment and mid-maintenance. To test this model, it is necessary to collect longitudinal data. The reason the relationship between job satisfaction and success has not been demonstrated previously, other things being equal (e.g., sample size, measuring instruments), has been that cross-sectional analyses have been conducted. When these have been summarized (e.g., Vroom 1964), the range in r has been considerable—Vroom reports coefficients varying from-.31 to .86—but the median was approximately .14. In other words, collapsing cross-sectional data across different age groups during the adult work life stages cancels out the effects of career developmental adjustment upon the relationship between job satisfaction and success.

Implications

Following this functional mode of hypothesis-formulation from the data-language level to the theory-language level and then back again (Marx 1951, 1963), the next step in the model-testing process is to design appropriate research from a developmental perspective. (Baltes, Reese, and Nesselroade 1977). The gathering of longitudinal data is necessarily time consuming, but some of the newer research designs from life span developmental psychology shorten this process (e.g., cross-sequential with overlapping cohorts). If empirical evidence confirms the model, there are far-reaching ramifications for both theory and practice. Theoretically, the perplexing problem of why the supposedly complementary outcomes of the career adjustment process, job satisfaction and job success, are not related would be resolved. Projected across the panorama of adult life stages, being viewed longitudinally rather than cross-sectionally, the trends in job satisfaction and success vary from one time frame to another and become highly related only when mid-career is reached. Note that this phenomenon occurs at the beginning of the maintenance stage, *not* at a particular age. A returning woman, for

Figure 3



ADULT LIFE STAGES
AND DEVELOPMENT TRENDS
IN JOB SATISFACTION AND SUCCESS

example, who does not reach this stage until fifty-five or sixty would nevertheless follow the same trends in satisfaction and success, on the average, as a woman who enters the maintenance stage at thirty-five or forty.

The implication for practice is that career counseling services and employee development workshops would be oriented toward assisting workers with that facet of career developmental adjustment which happens to be variant (or deviant) in a given adult life stage. Those who have just entered the world-of-work typically experience a high level of job satisfaction but are frustrated by slow advancement. From the viewpoint of the career developmental model, their problems will most likely center upon job success. For those later in the establishment stage, when satisfaction lags behind success, their problem may be how to sustain satisfaction until it "catches up" with success. And, paradoxically, workers at the height of the career developmental adjustment curve, at the beginning of the maintenance stage, may have difficulty with the mid-career crisis of whether to change jobs, because they have attained maximal satisfaction and success, or to continue on with revised aspirations and expectations. Whether for theory or practice, then, adult life stages act as a moderator variable upon the relationship of job satisfaction to job success, the two principal outcomes of the career development adjustment process.

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SECTION 3. THE CLIENTS

One of the obvious flaws of career development theory-building generally has been its limited application. Most of it is youth oriented, while some observations are confined to, for example, adult male professionals. More knowledge of distinct adult groups is needed to improve both theory and guidance services. Section 3 explores the known and potential recipients of career guidance. Ms. Laurie R. Harrison begins by discussing ways to think of special populations. Following her article is a series of descriptions of the unique characteristics of some special adult groups. The editors recognize that other significant adult populations in America, such as drug addicts, alcoholics, and homosexuals, could have been addressed. Limited time, resources, and expertise precluded their inclusion.

Meaningful Ways of Analyzing and Grouping Target Populations for Adult Career Guidance

by
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Introduction

In recent years there has been a heightened awareness of the career development needs of adults. While the numbers of enrollees in adult and continuing education classes have greatly increased, a parallel growth in guidance and counseling services for these adults has been lacking. As Hartwig (1975) states in the *Journal of Counselor Education and Supervision*, "There is a plethora of books, studies, and research dealing with the counseling and guidance of the undergraduate student, but little has been written or researched in this area as it relates to the adult" (p. 13). This observation has led many educators to call for the development of courses specifically related to the counseling and guidance needs of adults.

While educators have been seeking to address the needs of the growing numbers of adult students, psychologists and sociologists have been developing a new understanding of adulthood and its developmental stages. This new understanding refutes the commonly held view that adulthood is a time of certainty and stability. As Schlossberg (1977) states,

> It is assumed that people in the 20 to 60 age group have made their important decisions and settled into a steady and secure pattern of

> living, untroubled by doubts, conflicts, and upheavals that mark the earlier years. But this view is patently false. Adulthood is a time of change. (pp. 78-79)

It has been a rude surprise to many of us to realize just how true this statement is.

The greater understanding of the stages of adulthood, coupled with increased opportunities to provide services to adults through educational institutions, has contributed to a greater emphasis in recent years on the counseling and guidance of adults. The *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, and the *Counseling Psychologist* have all devoted special issues to the topic. The popularity of Gail Sheehy's *Passages* (1974) also points to the new awareness. To capitalize fully on this awareness and to effectively address adult needs, a closer examination of the adult target population and the needs of adults is required.

The adult target population can be described along two dimensions. The first is demographic characteristics such as sex, race, and socioeconomic status; the second is the events likely to occur duing adulthood, such as mid-career job changes or retirement. Differentiation of these two dimensions has been lacking. Defining the adult target population in terms of demographic characteristics is certainly helpful and provides a useful perspective on adult needs. Growing up female in American society is a different experience from growing up male. Being poor, physically handicapped, or a member of an ethnic minority results in unique needs. A greater understanding of how sex, race, and socioeconomic status affect adults will enable guidance personnel to deliver services more effectively. But examination of demographic characteristics is not enough by itself.

Defining the population in terms of events which cut across demographics provides a second perspective essential to designing and carrying out effective adult counseling programs. Understanding that adulthood is a period of change and focusing on some of the changes likely to occur provide a way to anticipate potential client needs at various ages and to be prepared with effective methods for dealing with them. Whether male or female, black or white, rich or poor, all of us will probably undergo certain experiences at relatively predictable junctures of our lives.

Of course, the two dimensions are not entirely discrete. Some life events are more likely to occur within particular groups of adults than others. For example, return to the labor market after a period of absence can occur for both men and women, but by far the greatest number of individuals experiencing this transition today are women. Similarly, all working individuals must deal with retirement. Currently, however, more men than women are working; therefore, more men than women are affected by this event (although the gap is narrowing). On the other hand, growing old in a society which values youth affects everyone. While there may be some differences in the precise impact this has on the different groups, the problem cuts across demographic variables.

In the remainder of this paper, I will attempt to delineate some of the important demographic characteristics and developmental events which affect the adult population and which should be researched further to improve adult counseling and guidance. The discussion of the first dimension will focus on sex, race, and socioeconomic status. For the second dimension, a variety of factors will be grouped under three life stages: young

adulthood, middle age, and old age. These periods will be defined somewhat arbitrarily as including adults approximately twenty to forty, forty to sixty, and over sixty, respectively.

Dimension I—Demographic Characteristics

Sex

Growing up in this society is not the same experience for men and women. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), in their extensive review of the literature, have demonstrated that research indicates only four characteristics on which the sexes consistently differ: (1) aggression, (2) mathematical ability, (3) visual/spacial ability, and (4) verbal ability. Males excel in the first three; females in the fourth. Only for the first, aggression, does the evidence suggest an inherent physiological basis for the difference; for none of the characteristics are the differences between the sexes nearly as dramatic as the similarities. Nevertheless, society elaborates these differences in a multitude of ways, so that sex role socialization is basic to the upbringing of all of us.

Study after study, in this country and elsewhere, has shown men to be encouraged toward a pattern of achievement and independence, while women are encouraged to be nuturant and dependent. Sociologist Jean Lipman-Blumen (1972) calls these characteristics in women the "vicarious achievement ethic." Women learn to define their identities not through their own activities and accomplishments, but through those of the dominant people around them: at first their fathers, then their husbands, still later their children.

This socialization leads to different patterns of behavior for the two sexes and different problems in adulthood. Men have been taught to evaluate their successes in life on the basis of their accomplishments, their careers, income, and occupational prestige. In contrast, women have traditionally learned to gauge their successes in terms of their husband's success, their family, their household, and their ability to serve as a helpful mate. Career success generally leads to high self-esteem. The fact that one's time is worth something in monetary terms gives one a sense of self-worth that is apparently hard to derive from other sources. Traditionally lacking this source of self-esteem, women's have been largely restricted to low-paying, low-status occupations. As Leroy Miles (1977) points out, the problem of inadequate self-confidence or identity seems to be inextricably interwoven with the problems of discrimination. Being excluded from prestigious occupations or being absent from the labor market for long periods of time has the effect of lowering one's self-confidence. Thus, in counseling adults, the differences of sex role socialization and work roles between the sexes is a central factor which must be understood and dealt with.

Complicating sex role differences still more today is the fact that the society is undergoing a significant change in sex role socialization and expectations. Many of the increasingly well-educated adults in the society have become aware of the sex differences discussed above and have reacted to the implicit unfairness represented by these differences. One result has been a profound change in the number of adult women seeking work. In 1948, 26 percent of the adult women of working age were in the labor force (Shishkin 1976). Today, the figure is approaching 50 percent. During the same period, the percentage of men of working age in the labor force has dropped from

83 percent to 72 percent. thus, rather than a difference of more than three to one in occupational status, the sexes are approaching equality. Equality between the sexes in type of work and income has lagged, however.

Changes in other traditional sex roles have also been dramatic. Indeed, the model held up today by many leading psychologists is not one which elaborates the distinctions between the sexes, but that of androgeny, which emphasizes the commonalities between males and females and the ability of each sex to react in ways traditionally reserved for the opposite. Needless to say, this has led to new and more complicated sex role problems for both men and women. While these changes are in many ways encouraging from the standpoint of equality and full achievement of each individual's human potential, more information must be gathered on these changes and on effective techniques for helping men and women cope with both the traditional sex role definitions and the current changing expectations.

Race

Race is a second major demographic dividing line of import to those in the helping professions. Americans have long prided themselves on their view of the United States as a great melting pot. Today the melting pot concept is falling into disfavor. An alternative model is that of a mosaic, allowing various races to live together while retaining their cultural and ethnic identities. As part of this, any tendency to think in terms of a single racial "problem" must be avoided. At present, blacks comprise approximately 13 percent of the population in the United States. As such, they are the largest minority group, and their needs often dominate discussions of minority problems. There are, however, many other races with equally serious problems, among them Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. In addition, generalizations across individual minority groups must be avoided. Differences in geographical location alone can result in entirely different socialization among members of the same race. A greater awareness and sensitivity to these differences between races and within them are needed to provide such groups with effective counseling help.

Beyond this, certain suggestions for improving services to minorities can be made. One suggestion relates to the traditionally passive counseling technques used among whites. Barbara Nelson Barrett (1976) discusses these in an article entitled "Enterprising Principles of Counseling the Low-Income Black Family." She reports that empathy, positive regard, and warmth have been basic principles of the counseling process. However, these passive therapeutic principles were based on the needs of middle-class whites. Because middle-class whites and poor blacks have different problems, there is a need to develop new principles for counseling low-income blacks. Barrett feels that emphathy and unconditional positive regard are not sufficient. Therefore, an *action*-oriented system should be the philosophical foundation of the method for counseling poor black families.

Language is another factor counselors need to be attuned to in working with minorities. Whites tend to be insensitive to black English, which is different from and in many ways linguistically more efficient than standard English. Problems of language appear to be worse for older minorities than for their younger counterparts. Vontress (1976) points out that monocultural Anglo counselors usually carry on a fairly fluent dialogue with *young* Chicanos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans, nearly all of

whom are bicultural and bilingual. However, the counselors are apt to have much difficulty interacting verbally with older minority group members. Many middle-aged and aging Hispanic Americans have spent their entire lives in the United States unable to speak English. The same situation prevails for many Native Americans. Vontress also notes that in San Francisco, almost 90 percent of the city's elderly Chinese Americans are immigrants from abroad and are generally less than fluent in English. This situation clearly has strong implications for a counselor's ability to help these adult populations. More attention needs to be given to the specific needs of minority groups. A further delineation of their needs, broken down by geographical region, socioeconomic status, and language fluency would be helpful.

Socioeconomic Status

A third important demographic category is that of socioeconomic status (SES). SES cuts across the previously discussed characteristics of sex and race. In many ways people of low SES background have not been incorporated as full partners into the society. They consistently experience higher levels of unemployment, crime, and mental health difficulties along with lower income and educational attainment. It also appears that the needs of low SES individuals are being addressed by counseling programs less frequently.

Harrison and Entine (1977) report on a national survey of adult counseling programs in which 32 percent of all the programs surveyed were designed specifically for women. While this represented no dearth of programs for women, not all subgroups of women were assisted by these programs in equal proportions. Many more programs were found for middle class, educated women who had never worked, or who had been out of the labor market for a considerable time, than were found for low-income women and female heads of households, individuals who frequently work full-time but in low level, dead-end jobs.

This point is reiterated by Tittle and Denker (1977) in their review of the literature pertaining to reentry women. They point out that their overview of issues relating to counseling is noticeably lacking in a discussion of lower-class minorities because there are few data and articles relating to these individuals. Greater attention to members of the lower class should become a goals of the counseling profession, and the most effective delivery methods for meeting their needs must be researched

Dimension II—Developmental Stages of Life

Young Adulthood

The tasks facing young adults are many. Individuals begin this period still emerging from adolescence and accustomed to support from family and youthful friends. Thrust upon them are the tasks of completing their education and training, establishing deep and meaningful relationships with life partners, selecting and successfully beginning careers, taking on the responsibilities of having children and raising families, acquiring homes and furnishings, and adjusting to the change in self-image that accompanies passage into adulthood. Furthermore, each of these tasks requires learning new responses and methods of coping. Unlike later periods of adulthood, there are not

familiar patterns to fall back on, no reserves of established solutions and previously acquired resources to carry one through. To the degree that young adults have school contacts, of course, they will probably have more access to counseling services than their older counterparts. But to provide effective help to this group, counselors must be sensitive to the many unique problems faced in young adulthood.

Middle Age

The traditional stereotype of this period includes a picture of sadness at the loss of children from the family next, while career and financial fulfillment gives solace as one faces the bleak future of old age. None of this may be accurate. Jessie Bernard's (1972) work on marriage suggests that the empty nest period is the happiest period for many couples, as it frees them from the financial and emotional obligations of parenting. At the same time, increasing numbers of middle-aged workers are encountering problems with maintaining careers and are being forced to change to new fields. Finally, many may look forward to old age as a time when a hard earned and long deserved vacation becomes possible, allowing travel, relaxation, and freedom from daily work schedules. As with any group, of course, it is difficult to generalize. But the problems that do seem general and growing, and which are pertinent to counselors, will be touched on here.

The first of these is the problem of mid-life career changes. Kiku Tomita is one of many analysts who has commented on this issue. Writing in the *Journal of Employment Counseling* (1975), Tomita describes the problem as follows:

> In a society where youthfulness is valued, an older person who loses a job and is rejected for other jobs may develop a poor self-image, a loss of self-confidence, and a defensive posture. A vicious circle of further rejection and reinforcement of feelings of worthlessness is created. Though 40- to 65-year-old workers are covered by the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, refusal to hire can be done subtly with no evidence of illegality, because a job seeker is "overqualified," for example. Such rejection is a great blow to a worker's ego and imposes serious financial strain. (p. 100)

At a time of prolonged high unemployment generally, with vast numbers of baby boom youth entering the work force, this problem is exacerbated. As Tomita suggests, employment problems in middle age are particularly devastating to one's self-image and reverberate through all aspects of one's life. Learning a new career at this point may be more difficult than in young adulthood, for a variety of reasons, including employer reluctance to retrain at this age and established salary needs and expectations. All indications are that this problem will continue to increase among the middle aged, and will present increasing challenges to counselors working with this group.

A second difficulty faced frequently by those in their forties and fifties, whether troubled by career changes or not, is a phenomenon sometimes labeled "occupational menopause." While women have to adjust to a change in self-image caused by children leaving and the cessation of menstruation and fertility, those who work often face a parallel self-image difficulty associated with their careers. Those in young adulthood see a vast future before them, with endless years to accomplish their dreams. Those in in middle age, frequently having accomplished less than their dreams

and aspirations held out, face the hard reality that time for such accomplishments is running out, and they may not become what they had hoped. Nancy Schlossberg (1977) describes the problem:

> Periodically throughout their lives, people reassess themselves, their options, their potentialities. Often this reassessment leads to the difficult realization that one has not lived up to earlier expecations. The dream of becoming a great writer, a college president, a noted politician, bumps up against the hard reality that one has gone as far as possible and falls short of the mark set in younger days. The individual suddenly realizes that he or she is not the ideal parent or spouse . . . When the bubble bursts, apathy and depression may set in. (p. 80)

A disruption in long-term partnerships may well be associated with this reassessment and depression, since the support given on both sides of a relationship is a strained by the emotional stress involved in admission of failure. This adds to the cycle of disruption and depression. Again, the challenges to the counselor may be difficult ones.

Old Age

The point that adulthood is a time of dynamic change needs to be stressed most strongly for individuals in this age group. Old age is the period when life seems to be particularly stable and established, to those who have not yet experienced it. Precisely the opposite is true. Lifelong patterns of work come to an end, and one's career, the central focus of life for most, either ends altogether or at least releases its compelling grip. The sense of power and importance built up over a lifetime dissipates, and new patterns of activity and purposeful behavior must be evolved. Friendships and partnerships slip away at an increasing pace, as death begins to make its presence felt. Rather than looking forward, individuals increasingly look back; and the assessments of middle age take on a summative character. Finally, the approaching end of life must be faced and dealt with. Old age can be a time of change and counselors working with this age group must be able to call upon unique skills.

One of the problems associated with this period that has received increased attention in recent years is retirement. Charles Ullman (1976) points out the marked rise in pre-retirement programs. In order to facilitate the transition to retirement, many of these programs treat such topics as the regulations on separation from employment, computation of pensions and taxes, health plan costs, and matters of law pertaining to reemployment. He also refers to the support from such organizations as the American Management Association and the American Association of Retired Persons in developing and implementing these programs. The significance of retirement and the adjustments required to adapt to it make this topic of particular relevancy to the counselor working with older people.

Dying is an event which deserves and is receiving increasing attention. Daniel Sinick discusses the dynamics of dying in an article in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* (November 1976). He notes that there are typical patterns of response to this event which have been studied and delineated by Kubler-Ross (1969). As with stages of vocational development, there are discontinuities and individual deviations from the

norm; but most people probably proceed more or less through denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and finally, acceptance. An understanding of this pattern and of ways to provide support for those ongoing through each stage is a necessary part of the repertory of skills for the counselor working with the dying.

There are, of course, many other events and problems that could be discussed more fully for each life stage. The overriding point is that there are dynamic changes at all stages of life, and each requires special understanding and unique helping skills. A useful summary of this topic is provided by Bernice Neugarten (1977):

> It is the unanticipated life event, not the anticipated divorce, not widowhood in old age; death of a child, not death of a parent, which is likely to represent the traumatic event. Moreoever, major stresses are caused by events that upset the sequence and rhythm of the life cycle—as when death of a parent comes in childhood rather than in middle age; when marriage does not come at its desired or appropriate time; when the birth of a child is too early or too late; when occupational achievement is delayed; when the empty nest, grandparenthood, retirement, major illness, or widowhood occur *off-time*. In this sense, then, a psychology of crisis behavior so much as it is a psychology of timing.

Neugarten's thought provides the basis for still another research need. An understanding of the developmental stages through which most adults pass is begining to emerge, although in many ways this understanding is still incomplete. The effects of different timing of the life stage events of adulthood need to be more carefully examined.

A Third Dimension—Characteristics of Participants versus Nonparticipants

As indicated in the previous section, many adults have needs or experience distress because of changes in their lives. Yet many may not avail themselves of help. The characteristics of individuals who have needs but do not obtain help should also be of concern to guidance personnel. By not considering these individuals, guidance services may inadvertently be designed in a manner which discourages individuals who would like help. Thus, another meaningful way of describing the adult target population for guidance and counseling is in terms of participants and nonparticipants. Are there characteristics of nonparticipants which should be examined in order to improve services? How does one deal with the problem of adults who indicate a need for help but, for whatever reason, do not take advantage of it when it is offered? Few studies have addressed this issue. A recent study described by Bellenger, Beck, Harrison, and Sanderson (1976) does shed some light on the problem.

In brief, the study was designed to bring guidance services to a neighborhood with a high minority, low-income population. In an effort to meet the specific needs of this target population, and in-depth needs assessment was conducted. A random sample of approximately 10 percent of the neighborhood was interviewed about their needs and the type of assistance they would like if it could be made available to them. Using the results of this needs assessment, a guidance class was designed. When information

about the class was distributed to the community, forty individuals signed up to participate. However, only five actually showed up, despite reminder phone calls and offers of transportation.

Since the program was based on a comprehensive community needs assessment, and forty individuals made an original commitment to participate, it does not seem that the program was of no interest to the community. Rather, something in the presentation or structure of the program, or the characteristics of the individuals involved, prevent greater participation. To determine what some of these inhibitors might be, a follow-up phone survey was conducted of all individuals who originally signed up for the class but failed to attend. This survey sought information on the potential barriers and on possible incentives which might have increased attention. In addition, data were obtained on the extent to which the nonparticipants had ever been involved in community or group activities. This follow-up survey reveals some interesting patterns.

The potential barriers assessed were: (1) time at which the class was offered, (2) length of the class, (3) transportation, (4) child care, (5) concern over ability to speak English, and (6) inappropriateness of the class for personal needs. The highest scoring barriers were time at which the class was offered and child care. This indicates that nonparticipants may have responsibilities which make it difficult or impossible for them to leave their homes.

Nonparticipants were also asked if they could have been offered an incentive which would have made them decide to take the class. One-half of the nonparticipants indicated they would have attended the program if it could have guaranteed them a job at the conclusion. Unfortunately, assuring this outcome is beyond the control of most career guidance programs. It is, however, something which individuals working the the field of career guidance must consider. If individuals are helped to make career decisions and establish career goals and are then confronted with few openings in the job market, they are in some ways less well off than when they started. One possible solution is to assure participants that they will receive information on jobs which appear to be in demand. The finding suggests that there is an element of despair, or perhaps just hard, cold realism, in the reasons individuals have for nonparticipation. They see little value in something which does not lead to direct, tangible rewards.

The third aspect of the follow-up survey asked the nonparticipants about their past experience with community or group activities. Perhaps the most interesting finding of the follow-up of nonparticipants was that few of them had ever been members of a community group or had ever attended an evening or daytime class as an adult. Again, it seems that for nonparticipants, leaving the home to attend a class or meeting at a community location is a rare experience. This has clear implications for the manner in which guidance services are delivered to adults. Most adults are not in a "captive audience," as are students, particularly elementary and secondary level students. Thus, services must be designed so that adults are able to take advantage of them. This presents a new challenge to guidance personnel interested in working with adults and again points to the need for more information about the characteristics of those who do not participate in addition to information about those who do.

Conclusion

I have attempted throughout the above discussion to indicate topics which call for additional research and to provide the rationale for such studies. The list which follows provides a recap of these research topics.

1. The effect of differing sex role socialization on men and women, and how this affects occupational aspirations, outcomes, and self-image.

2. Analysis of the current changes underway in the society relative to sex role expectations and of the needs of both sexes in attempting to adjust to these.

3. Identification of the needs of different minority groups, with attention to geographical and linguistic variations between and within races.

4. Investigation of the appropriateness of traditionally passive counseling techniques for low income blacks.

5. Identification of the needs of lower social class members and of effective delivery methods for meeting those needs.

6. Identification of means for effectively helping adults encountering problems associated with various adult life stages. Specific researchable topics discussed in this regard include:

   a. Mid-life career changes
   b. Occupational "menopause"
   c. Retirement
   d. Dying
   e. Off-time occurrence of various life stage events

7. Analysis of the backgrounds and needs of nonparticipants and of the means for providing them the services they desire.

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Women

by
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Labor force participation among women has been increasing rapidly for many years. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) of the U.S. Department of Labor, the number of women in the labor force, 37 million in 1975, is projected to rise to 48.6 million by 1990, when women are expected to comprise 43 percent of the labor force (BLS December 1976). The average woman worker has a worklife expectancy of twenty-five years (Women's Bureau May 1974), and nine out of ten women will work outside the home at some time in their lives (Women's Bureau June 1975). The BLS reported in April 1978 that 49.3 percent of all women over sixteen were working outside the home. In 1900 that figure was 20 percent (Rieder 1977).

An increasing proportion of young married women with and without children are remaining in the labor force. As the employment of women has risen sharply, the two-paycheck family has become a prominent feature of American life. Among husband-wife families, 58 percent had two or more earners in March 1978 and almost 48 percent of all wives were in the labor force (BLS July 1978).

Contrary to the long held belief that women work for extra spending money or have a choice between outside work and managing a home, most women work because of financial necessity. About three-fifths of all women workers are single, widowed, divorced, or separated, or have husbands whose earnings are less than $7,000 a year (Women's Bureau June 1975).

About 4.7 million minority women are in the labor force, constituting more than 40 percent of all minority workers. Many of these women have responsibility for the total support of themselves and others, since one out of five minority women serves as a family head (Women's Bureau June 1975).

Despite the gains in the number of women employed, women are still victims of occupational segregation. About 78 percent of all working women—compared to 40 percent of working men—are employed as clerical workers, service workers, factory workers, and sales clerks (Women's Bureau 1976).

Many jobs held by women are low status, dead-end, entry level positions. Another result of occupational segregation is low wages. The average woman worker earns less than 60 percent of the average male worker's earnings. Men who have not finished elementary school earn more than women high school graduates (Women's Bureau June 1975). The median income for a female college graduate is only $9,771; for male college graduates median earnings are $16,576 (Rieder 1977). And the earnings gap continues to widen.

The importance of paid employment to the lives of minority women and those dependent on them for support is evident; however, they continue to hold the lowest of the low-paying, entry level positions. The 1973 median income for minority women employed in full-time jobs was 88 percent that of white women (Women's Bureau 1975).

Many factors account for the increase of women in the work force. Among them are the availability of jobs in the fields where there is a preponderance of women, the rising divorce and declining birth rates and later marriages, the increasing number of educated women, the higher inflation rate, and the women's movement (Rieder 1977).

Hansen (1975), DiSabatino (1976), and Miles (1977) have pointed out some of the obstacles which inhibit women's career development. These obstacles include sex role conditioning and socialization, home-career role conflicts, focus on marriage or marriage prospects, lack of work orientation, sex discrimination, unavailability of educational opportunities, lack of funds, lack of information about career options, and lack of self-confidence and self-esteem. In addition to the barriers already mentioned, minority women face the complex barrier of racial and ethnic discrimination.

In recent years federal laws and regulations have been passed to help improve the working status of women and others and to ensure equal opportunity in education and work. Examples include Executive Order 11246, which created affirmative action; the Equal Pay Act of 1963; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity act of 1972; Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972; Title II of the Education Amendments of 1976; and Titles VII and VIII of the Public Health Service Act of 1971 (Hansen 1975; Vetter, Lowry, and Burkhardt 1977).

To provide career counseling and information, women's centers have been established on campuses and in communities throughout the country. Many have been self-initiated, community-based efforts, with strong self-help components. For example, women in rural Kansas and black women in Roxbury, Massachusetts, have formed networks to provide counseling and information (DHEW 1978).

Career counseling centers for women are now found in nearly every major city in the country. The Catalyst Organization, a national nonprofit network of counseling centers established to serve the vocational and personal needs of college trained women, listed 127 resource centers in thirty states as of May 1975 (Harrison and Entine 1976).

Some programs have been established to help women move into nontraditional fields. At Northeastern University in Boston, a cooperative education model is being developed through which women are trained for new roles in management, electronics, and large computer sales. The National Council of Negro Women, Inc. is conducting a model program that will move women from clerical jobs into management, sales, and administrative positions (DHEW 1978).

Many rural, suburban, and urban women suffer from isolation from information. Frequently, only television and radio reach them during the day. In New Orleans, a call-in counseling and life planning show is being offered on public television; at the same time it is being broadcast in Spanish on radio. In New Paltz, New York, the State University is offering educational counseling and an introduction to lifelong learning on the radio (DHEW 1978).

A national study conducted by the American Institutes for Research found that out of a total of 367 career counseling programs identified, 32 percent were designed specifically for women. However, there are many more programs for educated, middle class women who have never worked or who have not been active in the work force for a long time than there are for low income, underemployed, and/or uneducated women.

While programs for middle-income women often focus on expanding personal awareness, programs for low-income women are more apt to focus on coping or survival skills (Harrison and Entine, 1976).

Tittle and Denker (1977) also point out that most of the literature they reviewed on reentry women related to middle-class women. They found little data and few articles dealing with lower class and minority women.

In a more recent study, Veter, Winkfield, Lowry, and Ransom (in press) conducted a national survey to identify existing career planning activities for employed women sponsored by business/industry and community and junior colleges. They found that although a variety of career planning activities are offered for employed persons by employers and educational institutions, activities specifically designed to meet the concerns of women are not widely offered.

Until relatively recent, career development theories and related research concentrated primarily on the white middle class male. The first major theorist to direct attention to women's working patterns was Super in 1957. (See discussion of his theorized career patterns in Section 1.) Others have also theorized about women's career patterns, however, most researchers comment on the inadequacy of current career development theories in dealing with problems specific to women and the rapidly changing status of women in the labor force (Vetter 1973, Tittle and Denker 1977). Tittle and Denker conclude that counselors and clients should be led to confront the options and choices women have in deciding on timing of marriage, parenthood, and the integration of career and work in a variety of patterns.

Hansen (1975) suggests the following career development needs of women: (1) developing positive self-concepts; (2) developing interpersonal, basic, and employability skills; (3) gaining knowledge of the career decision-making process; (4) developing a sense of community relatedness; (5) developing a sense of control of one's destiny; and (6) integrating education and work knowledge, attitudes, and skills with self.

Speaking of occupational segregation and occupational discrimination, Rieder (1977) says, "Counselors have a particularly important role. They can either reinforce sex role stereotypes which narrow occupational choices, or they can encourage students to think more broadly about their educational and occupations decisions."

Minority Populations

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Minorities are racial, religious, political, and ethnic groups whose numbers are less than the larger controlling group in a community or nation. In America, the majority is composed mainly of White Protestants of Anglo-Saxon origin (WASPs). For the most part, WASPs have controlled the economy, politics, and society throughout America's history. Many other groups, however, fill the mosaic of the American population. Officially, the U.S. Bureau of the Census classifies the population as whites, blacks, and

other races. The term "other races" includes people of Hispanic and Asian origin and American Indians. In 1975 the Bureau of the Census estimates that minorities constituted nearly 14 percent of the total U.S. population of nearly 220 million. Black Americans, the larget single minority group, accounted for almost 12 percent of the total population or roughly 85 percent of all minorities. Growth rates of all minorities have been about 2 percent in recent years and the Bureau of the Census projects similar growth rates in the future.

In 1978, minority adults, those eighteen and over, numbered about 19 million. Again, blacks accounted for the majority, with 86 percent of the total adult minority population. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported there were about 97 million adults in the labor force. Eighty-nine percent of those holding jobs were white, while 11 percent were minorities. The overall unemployment rate has been fluctuating between 5 percent and 8 percent during the 1970s while the unemployment rate for minorities has been two to three times higher (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1978).

The status of minorities in the mid-seventies, despite equalizing legislative and judicial acts, cannot be considered equal to the general white majority. Unfortunately, the history of majority-minority relations has not been known for the application of principles of freedom and equality. The treatment of minorities in American has been characterized by oppression (Sue 1977, Miles 1977). Minorities have not had an opportunity to participate equally in social and economic activities. From a career guidance perspective, these conditions have dictated severely limited career patterns for most minority group members.

During the past twenty years, minorities have organized politically to improve their share in the social and economic opportunities in America. Basically, their objectives are better education, housing, and jobs. The civil rights movement, the American Indian movement, and the women's movement, to name a few, have been influential in bringing about social and economic change for minorities. (See the preceding section on women.) In response to this political influence, all levels of government and, to a great extent, business and industry have responded by passing laws and adopting policies that are designed to help minorities gain equal footing in America. Examples are the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Opportunity Employment Act, and affirmative action programs.

Minority claims to a fair share of economic, educational, and social opportunities have yet to be realized. What is important, however, is that opportunities are changing; minority adults of the mid-seventies have more career possibilities than their counterparts of the mid-fifties had. And the options for minority adults will be even broader in the mid-nineties.

While each person is unique, each minority group, too, has special characteristics. The Puerto Rican community in New York City has a heritage and environment different from the Pima Indians in Arizona. In a career counseling situation, uniqueness must be considered. Yet, minority groups have some common problems that are appropriate for this discussion and pertinent to adult career guidance. Time and space do not allow individual treatment of each group.

Counseling programs for minority adults have been established. In a national survey of existing programs, Bellenger (1976) found that 16 percent of the total programs

surveyed (N = 367) had minority enrollments of 30 percent or better. Nearly 60 percent of these were black oriented, 25 percent Hispanic, and the remaining 15 percent were comprised of other minorities.

Campbell (1975) notes several issues and problems relevant to the career behavior of minority groups. These include negative stereotypes, overcoming WASP standards, coping with differences in subcultural values, limited role models, lack of marketable skills, class and caste hang-ups, frustrated career dreams, and unfulfilled career development.

Negative stereotypes are unfavorable labels generalized to a particular group. They may grow from ignorance of, misconception about, or malice toward a group of people. Statements such as "women are not logical" or "Asians are inscrutable" are examples of stereotypes.

Another barrier to career development for minorities is the WASP standard. The white Protestant male has set the standard of measurement. This practice in employment seems to be crumbling but must be dealt with by those who do not fit the "norm."

Related to the WASP standard is the recognition of differences in subcultural values and lifestyles. When the minority meets the majority in the economic, social, and educational arenas, which values will be preserved, which will be eliminated, and which will be compromised? Will life on the tribal reservation be abandoned to attend college with hopes of working eventually in the city?

Researchers have found that many minority group members have a limited number of occupational role models to emulate. A child growing up in a family of migrant farm workers who sees relatives and other members of the group in very limited roles will also have a narrow idea of jobs open to him or her.

Minorities in general, and blacks in particular, endure the double handicap of belonging to a lower social class and having a caste stigma because of skin color or some other physical characteristic. Even if cast discrimination were eliminated, most minorities still would have to cope with the disadvantage of being in a lower class.

While many people are frustrated in their career aspirations, this frustration is even more pronounced among minority group members. Most people can identify probable barriers to realizing an occupational dream, such as ability, performance, health, and money; but for minority group members these barriers are magnified because of their disadvantaged position. Such conditions generate pessimistic attitudes toward achieving any kind of occupational dream and fatalistic thinking that one cannot overcome the barriers noted above.

Minority group members typically do not have the chance to develop a career as it is generally described by theorists such as Super, Holland, Havighurst, and others. Career development implies an orderly achievement of tasks from the tentative first work choice to retirement. Minorities typically hold dead-end jobs or have relatively unstable careers characterized by disrupted work patterns and many frustrations.

Campbell (1975) also notes that research on the career development of minorities and guidance practices and techniques for them is scarce, although Smith (1977) reports blacks have become "one of the most researched minority groups in the counseling literature." Smith also observes that some of the research has been a source of perpetuating stereotypes and, in general, has not led to a better understanding of blacks.

Campbell reports too that many writers have criticized federal policy as a short-range, money-wasting attack on the symptoms of being a disadvantaged minority member rather than a commitment of federal efforts to long-range (perhaps over generations) improvement of conditions for minorities.

The career guidance literature deals with the problems of those groups who have been most active politically. A review of the definition of minorities that appears at the beginning of this section reveals that obviously many groups have unique career development problems that warrant further research and better understanding. Jews, Muslims, Socialists, Communists, Indians, Greeks, French, Portugese, Poles, Italians, Amish, Mormons, liberals, conservatives, and homosexuals are readily identifiable subgroups of the American population about whom little if anything is reported in the career guidance literature. Much work is needed before a theory or theories of career development for minorities can be safely accepted.

Mid-Life Career Changers*

by
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Mid-life career change has received much attention recently in the popular and professional literature. Countless articles have described dramatic changes of lifestyles, for example, the Manhattan banker becoming a New Mexican potter, lawyers becoming farmers, a chief editor opening an Amish museum, and an urban manufacturer establishing an art gallery. The trend reflects questioning lifestyles and overcoming occupational traps.

Mid-life career change has been variously labeled as mid-career change, "seasons," middlescence, mid-career shifts, middle-age blahs, second careers, and mid-life crisis. The study of mid-life career change focuses on the thirty-five to forty-five age group, and it has been estimated that as many as one-third of the Americans in this age bracket are affected by career change (Arbeiter 1977, Heffernan, Macy, and Vickers 1976, Sommers and Eck 1977).

Although the literature fails to provide a clear operational definition for mid-life career change, researchers have described it in terms of the reasons people change, societal factors causing the trend for change, and the types of people who change.

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Those who change careers do so for a variety of reasons. The combination of reasons varies somewhat with the individual by sex, age, socioeconomic status, and self-perception and can be categorized into two very broad groups, (1) extrinsic factors and (2) intrinsic factors. Extrinsic factors consist of forces and events external to the person which precipitate career changes, such as the work environment, organizational policies, job layoffs, family circumstances, illness, disability, economic conditions, job opportunities, technological changes, and occupational obsolescence. Intrinsic factors are internal, that is, behavioral forces within the individual which typically include lifestyle preference, work values and attitudes, achievement motivation, career expectations, personal assessment, risk taking, occupational identity, role conflict, personal reward system, and monotony.

Extrinsic and intrinsic factors are not mutually exclusive but are interacting, that is, extrinsic events and intrinsic events are often covariant, producing change decisions. For example, a major external event such as a divorce may stimulate internal personal reassessment and career redirection.

Major social trends are continuing to influence mid-life reexamination and change. These trends have been identified by scholars such as Entine (1977), Heald (1977), Richardson (1973), and Sinick (1976) as the following:

1. effects of the women's movement upon the role of women in society and the resultant increase of women in the labor force
2. technological changes causing careers to end prematurely
3. unemployment at mid-life
4. increase in the rate of change in society
5. increased longevity of the worker
6. general increases in individual educational expectations and needs
7. job obsolescence resulting from a dynamic economy
8. reduced commitment to the concept of lifelong devotion to a single occupation or career

Studies and articles (Gould 1975, Levinson et al. 1978, Lowenthal 1976, Schlossberg 1978, Sinick 1976, Stevenson 1977, Super 1977, and Vaillant 1978) portraying the type of persons likely to change during mid-life are limited, as are the generalizations from those studies. Consequently, the following characteristics of those viewed as tentative, at best, subject to future hypothetical testing. In general, mid-career changers—

1. have high achievement motivation;
2. have largely stable and successful work histories;
3. have higher level growth needs;

4. need job challenge, stimulation, and personal satisfaction;

5. are well adjusted emotionally;

6. have positive self-esteem;

7. are dynamic;

8. are neither impulsive nor high risk takers;

9. perceive low opportunities for promotion;

10. have had little or no prior professional help in planning their careers.

Although many individuals are making mid-life career changes, substantial numbers are not because their life circumstances prevent them from changing or they do not have the desire to change. That is, they prefer the stable security of their established career. In addition, there are major barriers to change, such as cost, time, family constraints, employment opportunities, geographic commitments, limited marketable skills, lack of self-confidence, uncertainty of the future, loss of income, and insufficient knowledge of career planning.

Super (1977) has adapted his vocational maturity inventory to study adult career behavior. Initial studies suggest that although older adults need to deal with the same general vocational behaviors as adolescents—planfulness, exploration, and decision making—the specific coping tasks differ considerably. For example, Super has found that adolescents and adults differ in the range of options open to them. Age per se has closed many options for adults whereas adolescents have some options restricted because they lack prior work experience.*

In reviewing adult development, Schlossberg (1978) stresses the problems adults have in dealing with frequent transitional decision points related to life events such as divorce, remarriage, job changes, and geographical relocation, especially at mid-life. She reminds us that little research has been done on how people differentially cope with transitions, that is, why people react differently to the same transition event.

Levinson et al. (1978) are also concerned with an examination of mid-life transitions. Levinson's current longitudinal study of a small sample of adults in some ways appears to represent a microcosm of many mid-life issues which have been alluded to above. His study underscores the need for continued research and for professional counseling assistance for this large segment of society.

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*Additional comments on Super's adult vocational maturity model are provided by Crites, in Section 1.

Pre-Retired and Retired

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In America, retirement is a major change for comtemporary adult workers because it goes against previous conditioning and experience. Schools prepare people for work; our culture rewards those who work well. Self-esteem, social status, power, and rewards are all an integral part of work. Suddenly ending one's productive working years through voluntary or involuntary retirement or bad health poses serious adjustment problems. Both pre-retirement and retirement years call for special career guidance counseling, especially in the face of a growing cohort of retirement age persons.

Modern medicine has increased life expectancy. Life expectancy for a person age sixty-five in 1960 was 12.8 years; it jumped to 15.3 years in 1970 (Best 1978). Approximately 41 million people are now over fifty-five, with the figure expected to be 57 million by the year 2000, when the post-World War II baby crop will be nearing retirement (Entine 1977). Looking at the figures another way, there are now approximately 23 million citizens over sixty-five, three million more than in 1970. By 2000, 31 million, or more than half of the fifty-five and over group, will be sixty-five or over (Mayer 1977).

Since the 1930s, retirement age has been commonly thought of as sixty-five and most businesses and industries have a compulsory retirement age set at sixty-five. But the economics of retirement are, and will be, undergoing drastic change. Simply put, there is a growing shortage of workers who can support, through the Social Security system, the increasing number of retirees. One response to this situation, which may be the beginning of several changes, was recent federal legislation that moved mandatory retirement for employees from sixty-five to seventy. There is evidence that many people will continue to work. A 1974 Harris Poll reported that nearly a third of the naton's retirees who are over sixty-five said if they could they would still be working (Mayer 1977).

What the economy of retirement may do is force a wider age range for the consideration of pre-retirement and retirement. Instead of the range being thirty-five to sixty-five it may be fifty-five to seventy or beyond. A critical element in this picture, however, is how early people can draw Social Security benefits. Currently it can be drawn as early as age sixty-two. If nothing else, the new economic uncertainties in the retirement picture add to retirement concerns.

Indications are that until recently people have not been planning for retirement during the pre-retirement years with professional consultation. For example, between 1965 and 1975, only 6,267 employees out of the 41,780 eligible for the Chrysler-United Auto Workers Pre-Retirement Planning Program participated (Pellicano 1977). The AFL-CIO pre-retirement program in Ohio had about 2,000 participants per year in the late sixties and 9,700 during 1975. Many programs for retiring workers have just emerged in the mid-seventies. The majority of companies provide services only to employees sixty to sixty-five. Other assistance has become available through community

colleges, social service agencies, adult education schools, chambers of commerce, and religious institutions (Reich 1977). There are also commercially published retirement planning materials for personal use.

Dealing with the fear of being put on a shelf with nothing to do is a key issue in the career guidance of pre-retirement and retired people. There is a need to deal with the recurrent themes of identity, intimacy, and generativity (Schlossberg 1978). People need to know who they are and what they are doing with their lives. Helping people feel productive and useful through further education, second careers, paid or unpaid work, or full- or part-time jobs is a major challenge to pre-retirement and retirement counselors.

In counseling for retirement, there are several conditions to be considered, as Sinick (1976) points out. Adults must cope with the image of being an older person in a heretofore youth-oriented society. There is the problem of parent-child role reversal when the retired are no longer self-supporting and depend on their children. Handling leisure time can be very difficult, especially if one has no previous experience or ill health prevents participation in previously learned activities. Older adults must face their own eventual death and the loss of contemporaries, which can lead to extended periods of depression.

Usually, the retiree has several routine matters to deal with and does not focus on what will happen after traveling, for instance, loses its appeal. Often the subjects of company retirement programs are pensions, profit sharing, group and personal insurance, medical care, Social Security, veterans benefits, budgeting, survivorship planning, and retirement information sources (Pellicano 1977). Leisure time or creative use of free time are topics that generate discussion of and planning for second careers, volunteer work, return to the educational system, the need for income, and avocational interests (Reich 1977). Counselors should use these discussions to emphasize that people must retire to, and not from, meaningful activity.

Pre-retirement career guidance assumes a preventive approach to the retirement years. Coaching people to be constructive with their retirement plans can ease the adjustment and possible shock and reduce the probability of crisis at retirement. On the other hand, post-retirement counseling may require the same regrouping and planning but often within the context of a critical event such as loss of a spouse or failure of initial plans for retirement.

In summary, the importance of career guidance at retirement time is growing because older persons are an increasing segment of the population. People will live longer and will pobably work longer to fulfill the need for meaningful activity. Also, economic pressures may force people to postpone or even forgo a lengthy retirement. These cirumstances will generate new demands on the guidance and counseling profession.

Marginal Workers

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For the purpose of this report, marginal workers are defined as those workers who are frequently on the fringe of the labor market because they have few marketable skills. They are typically unskilled, are vulnerable to layoffs and job insecurity, and have limited formal education. In addition, they hold routine, dead-end, entry level jobs (e.g., laborer, custodian, factory operative, and bench assembler) and comprise a substantial portion of the labor force, approximately 20 million persons (U.S. Department of Labor 1978).

Marginal workers constitute two major groups. The first is the "hard core unemployed." Goodman, Salipante, and Paransky (1973) say the typical hard core unemployed individual is a member of a minority group, is not a regular member of the labor force, has less than high school education, is often under twenty-two years of age, and is economically at poverty level. The second group is composed of older individuals who are generally more motivated to work than the first but who are constantly struggling for job survival because they have minimal skills. Since their jobs are sensitive to economic trends, this group is subject to layoffs. Aging places a heavy burden on their job survival because their jobs frequently require strength and health. Consequently, they constantly live with the fear of losing their jobs because of physical decline.

Stewart (1974) describes marginal workers as low wage earners in an affluent society who have many career frustrations, e.g., limited occupational mobility, family responsibilities, limited knowledge of the labor market, low aspirations, and insecurity about job retention.

In a provocative critique of job satisfaction research, Nord (1977) concludes that low-skill workers are constantly struggling to satisfy their lower level needs for survival and that previous research has underemphasized the importance of extrinsic job satisfaction factors for this segment of the labor force, e.g., job security, minimum wage, and fringe benefits.

Marginal workers experience high psychological stress because of their routine jobs, according to Caplan et al. (1975). In their analysis of twenty-three occupations Caplan et al. found that workers in routine, boring jobs, such as assembly line work, experienced more job dissatisfaction, anxiety, depression, irritation, and somatic disorders.

Some marginal workers are often described as "discouraged workers," for example, unskilled, unemployed individuals between twenty-two and fifty-four who have given up looking for work because they have concluded it is impossible to find (Deuterman 1977).

Numerous federal programs, such as the Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA), Work Incentive Program (WIN), Job Corps, Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), institute primarily through the U.S. Department of Labor, have been established to assist marginal workers. These programs have had mixed results (Perry and Anderson 1975).

Although some gains have been registered, there is a lack of clear-cut guidelines for what constitutes the best blend of variables for hiring, training, counseling, and motivating marginal workers. Goodman et al. (1973) reviewed the literature from many dimensions, for example, family status, personality, work climate, job structure, size of company, supervisory style, counseling, training, and pay, and concluded that more attention needs to be paid to the larger institutional forces which bear upon the expectations and values of the marginal worker. Goodman et al. feel that changes must occur at all the main levels of the complex social system, i.e., individual, organizational, and societal, to be more effective in helping the marginal worker.

Criminal Offenders

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Adults in jails and prisons number about half a million (530,000); nearly a quarter of a million are on parole (Pell 1977, American Correctional Association 1978). The majority of adult offenders are incarcerated for one to two years (Abram and Schroeder 1977). Just the presence of a criminal record causes unique career development problems, but criminal offenders also face other problems which make them a special challenge to the guidance and counseling profession.

Historically, conflicting public attitudes toward offenders muddle the picture. A widespread myth that correctional institutions rehabilitate inmates hampers efforts to provide adequate career guidance during pre- and post-release time. This results in little, if any, public awareness of the need for career guidance. On the other hand, there is a prevalent attitude that prisons should punish offenders for their crimes and should in no way serve to improve their lives. Therefore, prisons are viewed as custodial institutions charged with keeping offenders away from the general public (Dye and Sansouci 1974).

The conditions within prisons do not facilitate career guidance. Generally, prisons are overcrowded, understaffed, and insufficiently funded. Attempts to provide programs for inmates are hindered because space is not available, crowded conditions create tensions that threaten security, existing staff are not trained to conduct special programs or staffing is not adequate, and salaries and prestige are too low to attract top notch professionals (Ivey 1974).

Efforts are being made both inside and outside institutions to provide career guidance to offenders. Traditional vocational training is most widespread. Some prisons are trying cooperative work experience programs with nearby communities. Released offenders usually have access to career guidance programs through rehabilitation agencies. Unfortunately, progressive programs are typically underfunded and understaffed.

The characteristics of adult offenders present special challenges to the adult career guidance movement. Like the hard core unemployed, offenders are typically poor and members of racial and ethnic minorities. They have insufficient formal education to compete effectively in the labor force, in addition to suffering the stigma of criminal conviction.

Those who find employment after release typically wind up in dead-end, low paying jobs. Most adult offenders who find jobs do so through the help of family, friends, or their initiative, not through counselors, employment services, or rehabilitation agencies. Still, unemployment among ex-offenders about 40 percent (Abram and Schroeder 1977).

The literature reflects great concern for changing the way inmates have been and are still being treated. There is strong emphasis on the importance of community acceptance of improving the lives of offenders, e.g., adequate career and vocational guidance and job placement. Until there is favorable change in attitudes toward helping offenders, efforts to assist them will remain spotty. It is through efforts by policy makers, law makers, and professionals who have an interest in corrections that sufficient clout can be mustered to bring about improvement of career guidance for criminal offenders (Jones 1977).

Disabled Workers

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According to Levitan and Taggart (1977), 15.6 million American adults are limited in the type or amount of work they can perform because of a physical or mental impairment. The impairments range by type and severity and are classified as musculo-skeletal, cardiovascular, respiratory, digestive, mental, nervous system, urogenital, neoplastic, endocrine, deafness, and visual. The severity of the impairment can range from minimal to severe and can therefore, limit work performance anywhere from marginally to completely. However, the extent of work limitation varies with the interaction of the occupation and the impairment. For example, a truck driver who has lost his or her vision can no longer function in his or her occupation, whereas a musician with the same impairment can probably continue to perform after some retraining.

The Social Security Act defines disability narrowly, limiting benefits to the most severe cases. Under the Act, a disability is the inability to engage in any substantial gainful activity by reason of any medically determinable physical or mental impairment which can be expected to result in death or has lasted or can be expected to last for a continuous period of not less than twelve months. Under this definition, approximately three million American adults under age sixty-five are severly disabled (Levitan and Taggart 1977).

The most prevalent disabling conditions are arthritis, rheumatism, back trouble, and chronic nervous disorders. Many disabled workers suffer from multiple impairments such as nervous disorder combined with high blood pressure and back trouble. Multiple impairments greatly reduce work capacity and drain work motivation (Steinberg 1977).

Impaired workers face a number of career adjustment problems. In addition to coping with the trauma of the impairment, which may involve extensive medical care, hospitalization, the use of prosthetics, temporary incapacitaion, pain, humiliation, costly

treatment, and in some cases, permanent disfigurement, they have to reassess their occupational status. In many instances, this means readjusting to their occupations or changing their occupations, both of which may require a lengthy process of rehabilitation. During this period, there is typically considerable emotional stress caused by loss of breadwinner status, feelings of inadequacy and frustration, anxiety about the future, and depression.

Even on returning to work, disabled workers have to make continual adjustments. Two-thirds of the disabled workers reported making some change (Levitan and Taggart 1977) such as reduced lifting, frequent work interruptions for medical treatment, part-time schedules, using special equipment, and slowing their work pace.

Vocational rehabilitation services have become a major national enterprise. Most of these services are provided through federal/state rehabilitation programs. During the decade ending in 1975, the federal/state system closed a total of 4 million cases (U.S. Department of Labor 1976, 1966). Additional services are provided by other agencies, such as the Veterans Administration, human resource programs, sheltered workshops, company insurance plans, and private nonprofit agencies.

Traditional rehabilitation programs which have emphasized only work evaluation and training are now beginning to recognize the need to add work adjustment services that do more than just match jobs and people. Worker adjustment services emphasize the psychological adjustment of the worker to the job environment, for example, placement readiness, acquisition of good work habits, family counseling, and individual follow-up counseling to assist with job retention problems (Wainwright and Couch 1978).

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SECTION 4. THE PROGRAMS

In this section attention is focused upon career guidance practice. This chapter describes documented career guidance needs of adults and the programs being offered to meet those needs. Although career guidance programs for adults have increased significantly during the 1970s, there are only a few descriptions of the kinds services available. Existing descriptions do, however, provide much information about programs and clients. The intent in this section is to give the reader a feel for what exists in contrast to the previous chapters which presented theory and described client populations. The chapter goes further too, by offering several articles on some key issues of delivering services to adults, such as staffing and evaluation.

A Profile of Existing Services

by
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Arbeiter et al. assess the career guidance and counseling needs of a national sample of adults who were undergoing or anticipating job or career changes in their work (1976). They report on those who were unemployed and looking for work and those employed who were dissatisfied with their work and were considering new employment.

Their findings indicate that 36 percent of the American population between ages sixteen and sixty-five is in career transition. According to their findings most of the adults in transition tended to be white females between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine. They were typically married with one to three children at home with family incomes of $10,00 a year or more. Half of the sample of in-transition adults had completed some postsecondary schooling. Males were better educated and earned more than females; whites were better educated and earned more than blacks.

The majority of the sample were employed full-time at semiskilled or unskilled jobs. Those unemployed were primarily homemakers. Employed adults wished to change the level or status of their work but stay in the same field. Financial need was the prime motivational force; the desire for more interesting work and interest in professional advancement were also important. Most adults recognized the unavailability of jobs and their own lack of experience or credentials as barriers to change. Half of the sample had begun to effect change by enrolling in educational programs and filing job applications.

Adults indicated they wanted serious career services, but most were interested in information about jobs, careers, and educational opportunities. The least educated (twelfth grade and less) of the sample expressed the greatest interest in services. Interest in services decreased as age increased. Adults indicated they were willing to pay for services. While all methods of receiving services seemed basically acceptable, adults in transition preferred one-to-one sessions to either group sessions or self-instruction.

Most adults in the study did not know about community agencies offering career services. Those who did know identified college or university placement or counseling centers and state employment services. Those who used available services were satisfied. Those who had not used services cited three basic reasons for not using them: the services were inapropriate, they were not ready to use them, or they were not interested.

Bellenger et al. (1970) report on a national survey they conducted on adult career planning and development programs. The study considered any individual over the age of eighteen to be an adult. Programs sought were those that helped adults make mid-career changes, enter or reenter the job market, enter jobs in nonsexually stereotyped roles, examine personal characteristics, obtain job information, acquire decision-making skills, set career goals, or any variation of these themes. Also, programs were to have been in existence a year or more, have evidence their worth, and be transportable.

The search for programs yielded 752 candidates for follow-up information. The follow-up netted 367 programs which met the above criteria and provided sufficient information for analysis.

The sponsoring agencies for programs identified fell into five categories, which are listed below with percentages of programs sponsored by each in parentheses:

Four-year colleges and universities (34%)
Community and junior colleges (20%)
Private groups and agencies (18%)
Government agencies (16%)
Public adult schools (12%)

Staffing patterns varied among programs, but clearly the paraprofessionals, usually volunteers, played a significant role in the majority of programs. Peer counseling was taking place in many programs. Generally, paraprofessionals had received training for their roles. According to survey respondents, the most needed skills were empathy, understanding, ability to relate to adults, and knowledge of career development.

The information received about program costs was incomplete or insufficient to make meaningful comparisons across programs. Costs for programs varied, however, from setting to setting depending on staff, space, and material requirements.

Planning and evaluation in the programs surveyed were nonexistent or weak at best. While most programs had clearly stated goals, only a few had measurable objectives for clients. Only 22 percent of the programs supplied evaluation data related to client changes, but the most prevalent form of data was anecdotal reports of success or client reactions. Nearly half the programs had no evaluation.

Classes were the most common method of providing services for adults. These classes were held during the day and in the evening and lasted from four weeks to a year. Workshops, seminars, and small group meetings were also popular methods. Some programs used telephones, mobile vans, cassette tapes, and home study courses to reach clients. Informal drop-in and resource centers were reported in use by many programs. Usually, the latter methods provided information and referral services.

The main goals among the programs surveyed included: personal growth, entry or reentry into educational institutions, entry or reentry into the job market, job getting and job maintenance skills, career decision making, vocational skill training, survival skills, and nontraditional careers and career patterns. Most of the programs addressed not one but a cluster of the above goals.

The programs surveyed had various target populations. The focus of the survey, it should be noted, was on programs for women and ethnic minorities. In addition to these two groups more than half the programs were bound to be for low-income individuals, mid-career changers, retirees and the elderly, prisoners, veterans, handicapped individuals, and people in rural locations. Thirty-two percent of the programs were designed particularly for women. Sixteen percent of the programs had minority enrollments of 30 percent or greater; black and Spanish-speaking adults constituted the majority of the ethnic groups being served.

Examples of typical programs reported by Bellenger et al. (1976) are reproduced below.

Career Counseling Program for Adults
Bucks County Community College
Newtown, Pennsylvania 18940

PROGRAM GOALS	Entry or reentry into the job market/educational institutions; Personal growth.
PROGRAM SIZE AND TARGET POPULATION	This program serves about 200 people yearly, 75 percent of whom are women and 97 percent of whom are white. They live in suburbs and rural towns near a large city and are primarily from middle income levels. Participants are self-selected. They learn about the program through publicity in newspapers, radio and television, brochures, contact with various public agencies, and "word of mouth."
YEAR STARTED	The program began in 1972.

STAFF

The program is staffed by two counselors. Their tasks are to seek out individuals and groups within the community who can best profit from career counseling and to help these individuals formulate specific goals for their future. The counselors must have administrative skills, be able to meet with the public in promoting the program, be competent in the area of job availability, and be able to assist an individual to realistically assess his or her abilities and interests and relate these to the world of work.

FACILITIES, MATERIALS, EQUIPMENT

The program operates out of its site on the Bucks County Community College campus, as well as at locations throughout the community. The program can be taken to wherever the need exists in the community. The materials used consist of counselor-prepared worksheets and commercial tests including Holland's Self Directed Search, Edward's Personal Preference Inventory, and the Strong Vocational Interest Blank.

MAJOR FEATURES

The program uses both group and individual counseling sessions to help adults plan their career. The major objectives of the program are:

a. To acquaint the client with the need to examine his or her interests, goals, priorities, and abilities in planning his or her career.
b. To become knowledgeable about the various techniques in a job search (resume writing, interviewing skill, application completion, letter forms).
c. To become aware of the need to plan for future career choices, retraining, job elimination, etc.
d. To make career counseling a continuous function throughout the adult years.
e. To provide referrals to appropriate sources for job placement.

The program utilizes a six-session format, each session lasting approximately two hours. However, this is not a rigid time frame and a higher or lower number of sessions may be held depending on the individual needs of the client and/or group. The basic content of the six sessions is as follows. Session I deals with self-evaluation and the significance of likes, interests, abilities, and values. Exercises in this session deal with fantasies, achievements, and failures. Session II focuses on changing roles and participants examines all of the roles they currently fulfill. In Session III a vocational profile is developed for each participant in which they take a hard look at their abilities and other personal traits and relate them to job satisfaction. Sessions IV and V treat career research. Participants learn how to explore their areas of interest and where to find appropriate resources. Participants study four specific occupational areas of their choosing. They determine the characteristics of workers who generally choose these areas, compare the jobs in terms of salary, lifestyle, places of employment, etc. Session VI is a wrap-up session where future strategies and plans are developed and the program as a whole is evaluated.

EVALUATION The program is evaluated by means of questionnaires which are sent to all participants. The participants have responded very favorably, especially those individuals who needed a greater opportunity for self-exploration.

Jewish Vocational Service
Department of Career and Educational Counseling
454 William Street
East Orange, New Jersey 07017

PROGRAM GOALS Career decision making; job getting and job maintenance skills; entry or reentry into job market/educational institutions; (vocational counseling, evaluation, and adjustment training for the handicapped).

PROGRAM SIZE AND TARGET POPULATION The program serves about 650 people a year. Sixty percent are men. Eighty percent are white, 15 percent are black and 5 percent are Spanish-speaking. Participants come from the inner area of a large city and from all income ranges. Individuals are self-referred or referred by the program's own placement department, private practitioners, community agencies, or the Veterans Administration.

YEAR STARTED The program was established in 1939 by the Conference of Jewish Charities as the Community Employment Service of Essex County. It was reorganized in 1947 as the Jewish Vocational Service of Essex County.

STAFF Responsibility for operation of the program lies with thirty-three members of the Jewish community of Essex County. Serving on a rotating basis, these men and women administer the affairs of the agency, determine policy, oversee management, review expenditures, and maintain the properties. Organized into standing committees, each operates a particular aspect of the program's service projects. These include executive, placement, counseling, workshop, and public relations committees.

The rest of the program staff consists of a number of trained and qualified teachers and counselors who are responsible for providing a variety of closely coordinated basic services and special programs. Their duties include job counseling and placement, educational and vocational counseling, psychological testing and evaluation, personnel services, rehabilitation counseling, and training for the elderly and emotionally or physically handicapped.

FACILITIES, MATERIALS, EQUIPMENT

Program activities take place either in their own facilities or those of other private, nonprofit organizations in the community. By special arrangement with the New Jersey Department of Labor, the program is permitted to use the department's General Aptitude Test Battery materials and equipment. Other materials used include commercially available interest tests, occupational and career information from a variety of government and commercial sources, and standardized work samples.

MAJOR FEATURES

Among its closely coordinated basic services, the program offers a job placement and counseling service, educational and vocational counseling, psychological testing services, a Work Adjustment Center, and an Opportunity Workshop. The primary responsibility of the job placement service is to obtain suitable jobs for nondisabled handicapped individuals of all faiths, and hard-to-place Jewish residents in the area. This requires a "selective placement" process including individual placement counseling for each client. Job counseling includes discussions of the individual's disability and job problems in order to help the individual to determine the most suitable job available and to assist him or her in obtaining and adjusting to his or her new job. A small number of nonhandicapped individuals are also served in placement. No fee is charged to either applicant or emloyer for this service.

The objective of the educational and vocational counseling services is to help individuals determine long-range career plans through professional counseling. For high school students this service may include college planning and, for adults, training programs and vocational adjustment counseling. Fees for individual vocational and education counseling are charged on a sliding scale, based on ability to pay. This service is available to all Jewish teenagers and adults of the metropolitan New Jersey service areas.

The objective of the Work Adjustment Center is to provide rehabilitation services for vocationally handicapped clients who need preliminary, protective work experience before venturing into private employment. Clients are usually referred to this program by a professional (such as a counselor, social worker, teacher, or doctor) who has worked closely with the handicapped individual and has detailed knowledge of his or her problem and background. These professionals are kept informed and are consulted throughout the work adjustment process which begins with a pre-vocational evaluation. This diagnostic study includes the entire intake process and initial staff analysis, a thorough review of the client's records, consultation with the referral source, an interview with the client, observation of his or her performance on work samples, and, when necessary, standard psychological testing. Based on this information, an evaluation team arrives at an estimation of the value, appropriateness, and helpfulness of the service to the client. While the client is being evaluated and his or her rehabilitative program prescribe, he or she is challenged every

morning for a period of four weeks by a combination of thirty standardized job samples, each of which provides a test in some way of his or her mental ability and manual skill. This technique is simultaneously a method of evaluation and of instruction as the client works under unobtrusive supervision and direction of staff specialists in a protected setting. The ratio of staff to client is kept at one to four or six and is meant to simulate real work.

The program's Opportunity Workshop provides real work. Here the client punches a timeclock, is supervised by a production foreperson, performs regular assigned duties, and receives wages. Overall supervision is still in the hands of the staff rehabilitation counselor. The clients receive wages for work obtained from private industry on contracts based on competitive bidding. An experienced field representative calls on business people for the purpose of getting work estimates. The Opportunity Workshop is combined with individual and group counseling sessions, an unceasing search for jobs and further training opportunities, by the Placement Department, and follow-up services provided to both client and employer by a vocational counselor.

EVALUATION

The program has been widely recognized for its thirty-six years of valuable services to individuals and the community-at-large. Follow-up evaluations show a steady increase in the number of individuals effectively helped by program services. Of all those who reach the Opportunity Workshop, 60 to 70 percent either obtain work or advance to higher schooling.

Educational and Career Planning Group

Office of Counseling and Placement
Kennesaw Junior College
Marietta, Georgia 30061

PROGRAM GOALS

Career decision making; entry or reentry into educational institutions/job market; personal growth.

PROGRAM SIZE AND TARGET POPULATION

The program serves about 100 middle-income individuals a year. Sixty-five percent of the participants are women and 95 percent are white. Participants are self-referred on the basis of advertisements in the college community.

YEAR STARTED

The program was started in the fall of 1973 by the Kennesaw Junior College Office of Counseling and Placement.

STAFF

The program staff consists of three trained and qualified guidance counselors who conduct short-term (six sessions) counseling groups designed to assist participants in planning their academic programs and clarifying their future career directions. Program staff must possess individual and group counseling skills and be able to assist participants in working through a systematically designed decision-making series which includes administration and interpretation of occupation and interest inventories.

FACILITIES, MATERIALS, EQUIPMENT

Program activities take place in community, business, and industry facilities as well as in group counseling rooms at the college. Materials used include commercially available inventories and filmstrips, student-prepared cassette tapes, and the counselor-prepared Vocational Decision-Making Series.

MAJOR FEATURES

The goals of the program are to help participants learn more about (1) their personal and academic strengths; (2) their educational and career interest patterns; (3) their personality traits and lifestyle preferences; and (4) the variety of college majors available at the junior college which can lead to future career opportunities.

Participants are encouraged to learn from other students in the group sessions. During these sessions, they have an opportunity to take various types of psychological inventories designed to measure interests, abilities, life goals, and personality traits. Participants also engage in a variety of group activities designed to create self-awareness and further the career decision-making process. Approximately fifteen hours are spent in group sessions.

Another fifteen hours are devoted to the programmed self-instructional materials in the Vocational Decision-Making Series. The series consists of a survey of vocational literature and three programmed booklet. Booklet I, "Life Style," deals with the factors of marital plans, socioeconomic status and financial resources. Booklet II, "Assessing Present Strengths," is divided into three subsections. The first section deals with the factors of ability and achievement and study time and effiency; the second with interests and personality; and the third with factors of race and sex, leisure experiences, and work experience. The purpose of Booklets I and II is to help the participants become aware of their personal attitributes and how these are incorporaed in the career planning process. Booklet III, "Putting It All together," includes a discussion of opinions of self and others; occupations for investigation, integration, and evaluation; choice of plan of action; taking action on plans; and clarification and review of plans. This booklet is designed as a synthesis of all the factors involved in career decision making and is intended to guide the participant toward taking action on his or her plans. At the end of each section, the participant answers questions that serve as a review of the previous material.

EVALUATION

Evaluation conducted on the basis of staff observation and participant reports and questionnaires indicates overall success and satisfaction with the program. Certain group exercises are still being changed, and there is some indication of the desirability of an initial individual interview session to better assess participant readiness for the programmed self-instructional materials.

Educational Exchange of Greater Boston

17 Dunster Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

PROGRAM GOALS

Entry or reentry into educational institutions; career decision making; flexible careers/schooling.

PROGRAM SIZE AND TARGET POPULATION

The program serves about 9,000 individuals a year in and around Boston. It serves men and women equally, from all ethnic and economic backgrounds. Clients are referred by many social agencies, schools, personnel managers, guidance officers, clergy, physicians, probation officers, libraries, and professional people. Many are self-referred on the basis of newspaper articles and editorials and free radio and television publicity, plus word of mouth referrals from former clients and friends.

YEAR STARTED

This program is an outgrowth of the Prospect Union Association which was established in 1891 and began serving as a clearinghouse for adult education in the greater Boston area in 1923. It is supported by monies gained from an original trust fund, private donations, and the sale of its catalog of educational opportunities for adults.

STAFF

The program is administered by a board of directors, a group of administrative officers, and an executive director. It is staffed by an unspecified number of counselors and clerical personnel.

The staff is responsible for researching schools for adults, publishing an annual catalog of approved schools and reliable educational opportunities in the greater Boston area, and helping men and women with their educational problems by providing free information and counseling.

FACILITIES, MATERIALS, EQUIPMENT

The program maintains its offices in a permanent business facility in Cambridge. At the heart of the program is its annual publication "Educational Opportunities of Greater Boston," which contains complete information on 220 schools for adults.

MAJOR FEATURES

The program was developed to serve as a clearinghouse in adult education to help people choose among the many courses available. Its goal is to investigate schools for adults, steer men and women to reliable schools and educational programs, and provide unbiased information about educational opportunities in the area.

In addition to general information on schools, the catalog compiled and published by the program lists 6,000 day and evening courses offered by public and private schools in the area. It contains an index showing a variety of courses available in the arts, crafts, business, trades, languages, engineering, homemaking, social sciences, recreation and other fields. A special section provides general school information, e.g., addresses, telephone numbers, fees, diplomas, and degrees. The catalog is sold at printing cost and is bought by major industries, firms, libraries, social agencies, universities, schools, and other groups, as well as by individuals. In order to insure unbiased service, schools do not pay for being listed in the catalog.

The program also offers educational counseling and information services to individuals free of charge, whether by personal contact, telephone, or letter. This service provides individualized attention to client needs, and, while the program does not provide testing services, it is able to refer clients to agencies that do.

EVALUATION

The program has had favorable evaluations in follow-up studies and from the community-at-large for many years. The most frequent criticism of the program has concerned a lack of advertising regarding the program.

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Barriers and Facilitators Influencing Participation in Adult Career Guidance Programs

by
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In recent years there has been tremendous growth in both number and kinds of counseling services available to the public. This proliferation is due to increased demands by individuals, from all segments of society, for professional assistance in dealing with the complexities of life in a rapidly changing world.

Millions seek counseling services provided by educational institutions, placement agencies, manpower development programs, rehabilitation centers, social welfare agencies, mental health facilities, drug abuse centers, adoption agencies, family services, and the myriad of other public and private agencies concerned with helping to solve educational, vocational, or personal problems.

Counseling services assist the disadvantaged, the vocationally obsolescent, the unemployed, the school dropout, the physically and mentally handicapped, the minorities, the poverty stricken, the addict, the unwed mother, women and children with special problems, students, and in fact, *all those facing an uncertain future.* However, the use of counseling services is not only limited to individuals who consider themselves in trouble or are so designated by significant segments of their society. *Many persons who are functioning well also seek counseling to facilitate their further growth and development.* (Emphasis added.) (International Association of Counseling Services, Inc., Introduction, p. vii.)

The above quotation from the *Directory of Counseling Services* display vividly the wide range of clients, on the one hand, and the service agencies seeking to assist them, on the other. Establishing the link between the prospective clients and the appropriate service agency is the crucial factor in increasing adult participation in career guidance. The key to success is based on overcoming three critical barriers in this client transition process: (1) client outreach, (2) client placement, and (3) client service delivery. This paper will treat each barrier briefly and suggest needed research activities to facilitate further career guidance service to adults.

Client Outreach

The general public has only a vague understanding of the availability and personal applicability of career guidance services. A recent survey conducted by the College Board (Arbeiter et al. 1977) revealed that a majority of adult Americans were not aware of career guidance agencies or services, and that of those who were aware, a majority felt the service was "not right for me." There is a significant breakdown in the processes which inform adults about career guidance service systems—and this holds true for the public and the private sectors. Public agencies rely primarily upon catchment devices provided in legislation (e.g., the referral of unemployed workers to state employment

service offices and the guidance provisions under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act) and rarely reach beyond legislatively mandated audiences. Private agencies normally await institutional clients (college counseling offices) or seek clients from the affluent middle class by locating offices adjacent to residential areas. There are, however, several examples of effective outreach by career guidance agencies which offer a small basis for useful research.

In Rhode Island, a telephone counseling service (the Career Education Project) was promoted through use of television commercials. Advertisements in minority newspapers in the Boston area and a mobile van in Fresno, California, to reach geographically isolated adults, have formed part of an incomplete mosaic of outreach attempts. However, to date, there has been no comprehensive attempt to use the broad variety of media and personnel available to disseminate information about career guidance services and to *evaluate the impact of particular dissemination techniques on specific client groups*. Would, for example, a television campaign or a network of church groups discussing career guidance be more effective for blacks or Chicanos? This leads to the first research recommendation: *The systematic development and evaluation, on a national basis, of a variety of outreach and dissemination techniques to inform adults about publicly available career guidance services*. The research effort would include the establishment of pilot dissemination projects and a two-part evaluation of (a) the increase, if any, in clients, and (b) the type of clients responding to particular outreach strategies.

Client Placement

Once the client (or clients, if the guidance service is delivered on a group basis) is recruited to use the guidance service, a second matching process must occur: the career guidance needs common to *all* adults must be matched to the *individual* characteristics of the client(s). As indicated in Figure 1, there is a range of individual characteristics (displayed horizontally) and a series of guidance needs (displayed vertically) which constitute the core of career guidance. This matrix is not intended to be comprehensive (witness the blank spaces on both the vertical and horizontal axis), but to be illustrative of the type of needs and spectrum of individual intervention points at which these needs might be satisfied.

In the high school senior guidance model, for example, a narrow vertical slice has been taken from the individual characteristics. The age is from sixteen to nineteen; the life-cycle stage (as posited by Super 1972) is clearly exploratory; the educational level is secondary school. In isolating this narrow, albeit important, segment of individual characteristics, the secondary school counselor has greatly reduced the third dimension inherent in Figure 1—the area where the range of characteristics continually crosses the guidance needs. The high school college-going senior requires, in the short-run, information about possible colleges he or she may attend, and in the long-run, information about career interests and possbilities which can be pursued further at particular colleges. In cooperation with the high school counselor, friends, relatives, and acquainteances in the community, the secondary school senior is informed about possible career fields and colleges, trade, technical, and business schools which offer education, training, or certification in these fields. He or she is then informed of the admission and matriculation requirements of these insitutions and is given, through testing, some self-awareness regarding his or her particular academic and vocational abilities and career aptitudes. Armed with this knowledge, the high school senior, within

FIGURE 1

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

GUIDANCE NEEDS	Age: 16-65	Life-cycle stages: exploratory to decline	Employment level: unemployed to chief executive	Educational level: pre-literate to post-doctorate	Family status: unmarried to responsibility for spouse, children, and parents	Additional characteristics
Self-Awareness						
Career Awareness						
Social Awareness						
Work Effectiveness Skill Awareness						
Decision Making						
Additional Needs						

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a six-to-twelve month period, makes application to colleges and selects among those to which he or she is admitted.

This is often considered a difficult process. However, when compared to the complexities of decision points and choices available to adults in career transition, the guidance and transition of high school seniors to college becomes a simple and one-dimensional matter.

As indicated in Figure 1, each adult has a unique age, life-cycle stage, employment history, educational level, and family responsibility. These characteristics must then be arrayed against the career guidance needs of the individual—and this constitutes the second major barrier of adult career guidance. The primary guidance needs of, for example, a women in her thirties seeking to move from a family situation to a work situation may be work effectiveness and skill awareness rather than self-awareness. After a decade or more of meaningful work in a home, this woman may have great confidence in her own ability but may lack knowledge of the interplay that occurs in a work setting. On the other hand, the unemployed twenty-two-year-old male may require greater emphasis on self-awareness and a clearer description of available careers rather than an improvement in decision-making or work-effectiveness skills.

The need to facilitate adult career guidance through linking characteristics more clearly with needs is evidenced by two recent studies conducted at the College board (Arbeiter et al. 1976, and Arbeiter et al. 1977). When asked prior to obtaining counseling about their career guidance needs, adults expressed an overwhelming preference for informational services. These are low-cost services and do not require much personal involvement. However, interviews with clients who had received career guidance revealed that the services considered most valuable were the personal services obtained from the counselor—particularly those pertaining to self-awareness and self-development. This apparent contradiction between pre- and post-counseling perceptions relates to perceived versus actual client guidance needs and requires careful analysis of the match between couneling needs and adult characteristics.

This transition point leads to a series of recommendations for future research. *There is a need to conduct an experiment to identify, in terms of client satisfaction and career outcomes (e.g., job change, education enrollment), any significant differences between multi-purpose career guidance centers and audience-specific (mid-career woman, mid-level business executives, unemployed younger adults) "mini-centers."* The more successful career counseling centers appear to be those that concentrate on specific target populations. This focus on population subgroups may produce greater success in that recruitment is more effective. However, a more likely thesis which could be tested is the presence of a greater sophistication among the staff of "mini-centers" in evaluating the career guidance needs of clients and meeting those needs efficiently and effectively.

Many good theories of adult development have been advanced, for example, by Super, Gysbers, and Campbell. A consolidation of the major developmental theories focused on a career guidance needs analysis system would prove useful to guidance counselors. *A thoughtful synthesis of adult lifes stage theories and their relationship to career guidance needs would be valuable.* For example, do certain adult stages call for value clarification while decision-making skills would be most valuable for other stages?

Client Service Delivery

The third major barrier point is reached after the individual characteristics are matched to the service needs. This barrier involves the two basic questions of what techniques or instruments to use in providing the guidance service and what delivery system to use.

After determining the client's needs, the counselor or broker has to perform an additional analysis of the most efficient and effective way to meet these needs. These considerations, in turn, depend upon the type of service desired by the client and his or her readiness for career transition. There appears to be a relationship between the readiness for career change of adults and the service techniques they find most useful. Those individuals who are ready to enter a new job or career are best served by basic, timely information whereas those who are not need more lengthy deliberation and discussion with trained counselors. For example, facts about available jobs are most useful to those adults who have made a decision to change careers or jobs whereas decision-making skills would be most valuble to those individuals starting to consider a career or job change. Therefore, *there needs to be some research on career change readiness, particularly as it relates to the most effective use of guidance tools, e.g., tests, interviews, role playing, and information.* This differs from adult life-cycle development in that the 1977 College Board study cited above found no demographic distinctions (other than age) between adults who consider themselves in career transition and those who do not. Job category, race, and income did not affect career transition status. It may be that readiness to change careers is a short-lived but frequent phenomenon with adults. However, it is important to ascertain the career transition status in order to use the appropriate guidance technique or instrument.

The delivery system for guidance services is also important. The recent survey of adults conducted by the College Board (Arbeiter et al. 1977) indicated that adults express a preference for receiving services at a neighborhood educational institution on weekday evenings. However, almost all delivery systems were considered acceptable, giving service agencies great flexibility. Figure 2 displays a range of delivery systems (vertical axis) matched against a range of artificially constructed career guidance processes. While services may be delivered in almost any manner, it is obvious that certain services are more effectively delivered through use of the media and others are more effective if a counselor is personally involved. For example, basic information about available jobs can be disseminated most rapidly and at lowest cost through television. However, this would only be effective (as well as efficient) if the target population were in the final stage of career transition and able to act on the information received. The delivery system, therefore, requires knowledge about the total adult audience to be served and calls for greater information about adult potential for career guidance than we currently have. *A data base on the career guidance needs of adults should be developed, most probably through biannual surveys of randomly selected communities and families.* This survey would include information on those adults receiving some form of career guidance (Who are they? What do they find most useful? What outcomes do they obtain?) and those adults wanting career guidance services (Where would they prefer to receive the service? What are their career goals?). The absence of a national data base of adult carer guidance needs leads to hit-or-miss attempts, particularly at the national level, to deliver guidance services. National surveys could be augmented at the local level by *the development of brief survey mechanisms to supplement the national data and professional staff development in their use.*

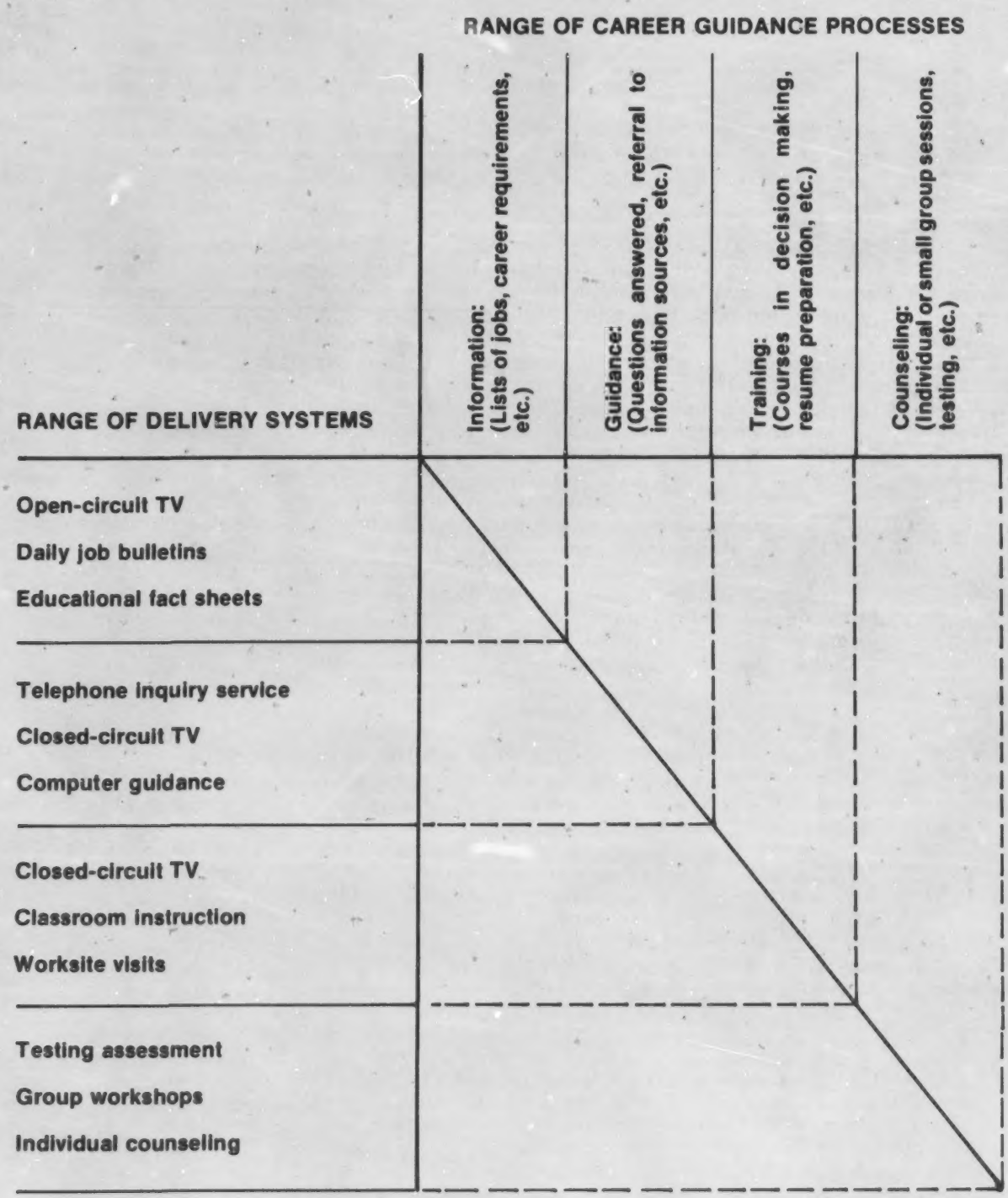
RANGE OF CAREER GUIDANCE PROCESSES
RANGE OF DELIVERY SYSTEMS
Information: (Lists of jobs, career requirements, etc.)
Guidance: (Questions answered, referral to information sources, etc.)
Training: (Courses in decision making, resume preparation, etc.)
Counseling: (Individual or small group sessions, testing, etc.)
Open-circuit TV
Daily job bulletins
Educational fact sheets
Telephone inquiry service
Closed-circuit TV
Computer guidance
Closed-circuit TV
Classroom instruction
Worksite visits
Testing assessment
Group workshops
Individual counseling

Figure 2

Making use of guidance data and career transition analysis on service delivery systems will require a sophisticated counseling network. There have been various criticisms of "counselors" in career guidance, including insensitivity to clients and a lack of basic skills and/or information. Rather than debate the qualifications of career counselors, a pragmatic research project would be *an inquiry into the basic skills/competencies needed by those offering career guidance to adults.* Most requirements are set in degree or course standards, but the wide variety of institutions and personnel offering career guidance to adults. Most requirements are set in degree or course standards, but the wide variety of institutions and personnel offering career guidance calls for a clear set of performance standards which can be applied in all settings. Other useful research in this area would be *experiments in the use of paraprofessionals and/or peers to deliver career guidance.* A series of controlled experiments using, for example, factory workers to guide their colleagues or black women to advise their "sisters" would offer much insight into the translation of career guidance into career action by clients.

Recommendations for Research

There is, of course, a continuum between recruitment, placement, and service delivery. For example, word of effective service delivery travels rapidly through the community and serves as a major outreach component. However, viewing these elements as discrete barrier points will enable more focused research to be undertaken and, from a practitioner point of view, facilitate a rigorous service analysis. It is more helpful to discuss barriers as transition categories applicable to all client groups than to isolate problems specific to client subgroups (e.g., rural women) or ancillary needs (e.g., time and place problems). It is hoped that the suggested research and development topics summarized below will contribute information to facilitate the career guidance of all adults.

1. The systematic development and evaluation, on a national basis, of a variety of outreach and dissemination techniques to inform adults about publicly available career guidance services would be valuable.

2. An experiment should be conducted to identify, in terms of client satisfaction and career outcomes, significant differences between multipurpose career guidance centers and audience-specific "mini-centers."

3. A thoughtful synthesis of adult life-stage theories and their relationship to career guidance needs would be valuable. For example, do certain adult stages call for value clarification whereas others call for decision-making skills?

4. There needs to be some research on career transition readiness, particularly on the most effective use of guidance tools, e.g., tests, interviews, role playing, and information.

5. A data base on the career guidance needs of adults should be developed, most probably through biannual surveys of randomly selected communities and families.

6. Brief survey mechanisms should be developed to supplement the national data, and professional staff should be trained to use them.

7. There should be an inquiry into the basic skills and competencies required by those offering career guidance to adults.

8. Experiments should be coordinated on the use of paraprofessionals and/or peers to deliver career guidance.

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Program Planning and Implementation

by
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How does an institution plan, develop, and build effective career guidance services for adults? What kind of career services should the program offer? What groups of adults in the community and region should the program reach? Which methods of outreach are likely to be most effective? How can the program evaluate the effectiveness of the services provided and decide which should be expanded or discontinued?

These are some of the key questions faced by individuals or institutions who think about starting a career guidance program or service for adults. This paper suggests a process for starting an adult career guidance service in a community or region. The process is designed to maximize the options for success and minimize the costs of failure if the service does not effectively meet the counseling needs of adults.

The paper suggests a model for planning, initiating, and implementing career services within an established institution which already provides some type of educational, learning, or counseling services to the public. This is not meant to exclude individuals who establish independent career guidance services on their own. For those persons the model is applicable but heavy additional start-up costs must be added to the costs considered in the following pages. Rent for facilities and funds to cover the full cost of counselors' salaries and counseling materials must be raised if the center is independent and free-standing. Two sources of funding in such cases are likely: government or foundation grants and income from fees charged to clients. Relying on either or both of these sources for total support places a significant burden on those responsible for the initiation and development of the program in its earliest and most tentative period of existence. This burden is relieved if the adult career counseling service is added to services already being provided by an educational, learning, or counseling institution.

There is a wide variety of institutions which can potentially provide a sound base for an adult career guidance service in a community. These include community colleges, four-year colleges and universities, adult evening high school and trade schools, libraries, and social and rehabilitative social service agencies. The initial task in each institution is to assign responsibility for developing the service to an individual on the staff who has an interest in and commitment to counseling adults. In some institutions career services can be developed if an individual takes the initiative to start such a service in addition to his or her regular responsibilities. In others, an assignment can be made to a person who would initially commit part of his or her working time to the project.

The individual selected—or who selects himself or herself—for this assignment will be a key factor in the success of the project. The individual must have the imagination to develop programs which can effectively reach adults; the ability to structure new programs in a logical manner; the ability to pay attention to details and follow through;

and perhaps most important, the commitment to devote extra hours to the project in its early stages of development.

Needs Assessment

How does this individual assess and determine adult career guidance service needs in the community or region? Two approaches are suggested: surveys and pilot programs. A random survey of adults in the community or region is suggested to obtain some idea of what kind of services people want and what, if anything, they are willing to pay for them. The design of the survey will to some extent be determined by the demography and socioeconomic characteristics of the community or region. In some areas a telephone survey might yield greater results than a mailed questionnaire with a return envelope. In others a survey of adult users of an institution's existing services conducted a community college or in a library might be beneficial. In still others, a poll taken through a community newspaper or at a major shopping center might yield useful results.

The survey should yield information about the key target groups in the area who would benefit from counseling services. Potential target groups include women whose children are leaving home, women who need to provide additional income to the family, women who suddenly have to be the sole support of a household, men and women facing job loss or job change because of technological or economic conditions, men or women who want to make a career change because of boredom or dissatisfaction, men or women facing early retirement and seeking second careers for their young-old years, and men or women who need new work directions because of accidents or illness. Other key potential target groups are adults who seek to upgrade their work skills and those who are unemployed or underemployed and seek new job opportunities.

The program planner should, by means of the questionnaire or by his or her knowledge of the socioeconomic conditions of the community, be able to identify those groups who are likely to respond to a career counseling program. In general, the lower the socioeconomic level of the community, the greater the need for guidance into jobs and careers which can provide basic needed income; the higher the socioeconomic level, the greater the potential need for guidance into careers which provide satisfaction and personal fulfillment. In periods of economic decline, the career counselor is likely to be confronted by adults who are unemployed and are forced to seek new job skills; in periods of prosperity, the counseling centers are likely to serve those seeking voluntary career changes to improve both pecuniary and nonpecuniary returns from work.

Superimposed upon these cross-sectional and longitudinal patterns of adult career guidance needs are two secular trends which are likely to be reflected in the needs of the community. The first is the continued rising participation rate of women in the labor force, which is creating a need for specially designed career services to help women enter or reenter the labor market in their adult years. The great increase in the number of career counseling centers which focus on women's needs is a reflection of the importance of this trend.

The second trend is the falling average age of retirement, which is increasing the need for second careers—including part-time employment—for those in their fifties and sixties. With the rapid rate of inflation, the relatively fixed income from pensions and

social security will not be sufficient to sustain individuals through twenty to thirty years of retirement. Although the national retirement age has recently been increased to seventy, it is unclear whether this will reverse the trends of the past two decades because individuals have been encouraged to retire from an economy which has an oversupply of labor in many areas. Yet there is still a need to work to satisfy psychological and economic needs. Thus, a new area of adult career counseling is likely to focus on the needs of the early retiree.

A survey can be helpful in uncovering the broad dimensions of the various kinds of adult carer guidance needs in a particular area. But a survey is limited in that it can only ask individuals to state their opinions about their needs and then inquire if they would use a particular kind of counseling service if it were available. It can be more helpful in determining the level of fees which individuals would be willing to pay—but even here the willingness to pay fees is strongly affected by the experience of those who have been users and how they relate their experiences to new potential clients.

The survey can reveal the initial target audience and best initial appropriate program format, but there is no substitute for establishing a small, flexible pilot program to fully explore the dimensions and possibilities for career guidance services. The pilot program can reach out to a number of potential community audiences in small but meaningful ways; and the response to these efforts, after a reasonable period of time, can be an excellent assessment of the needs for adult counseling services in a community or region.

Services and Approaches

Many different kinds of pilot projects to assess community needs can be undertaken with minimal cost. If successful, they can be sustained permanently or expanded. If unsuccessful, they can be terminated easily without great cost to the sponsoring institution.

One model is to offer a noncredit course periodically which focuses upon the career needs of particular segments of the adult population. The design of the course or workshop would probably include elements which would help adults assess their current personal, family, and work situations; help them identify marketable job skills and career interests; acquaint them with various opportunities for careers in the community and region; discuss the possible advantages of additional training or education; help them develop job resumes and job interview techniques; and provide them with leads and information about actual job openings in the area.

The course could employ a variety of instructional and counseling techniques to achieve these objectives. These techniques include one-to-one counseling, group counseling, lectures to the whole group, role playing, and the use of guest lecturers who represent a number of occupations and professions. The assessment exercises can be those specifically designed for adults in the community or can be one of a number of nationally available career preferences, interest inventories, or vocational aptitude examinations.

There are advantages and disadvantages to the workshop/course model. One advantage is that the workshop can offer a wide variety of guidance services and

present the opportunity for interaction among members of the workshop. This helps participants understand that there are others in similar situations; the opportunity to share can be beneficial. The group can be structured to attract individuals facing similar challenges, for example, single parents or women at mid-life; or it can be a more heterogeneous counseling workshop for all mid-career adults. In addition, the group workshop can usually be offered at a modest fee for each participant.

The main disadvantage of the workshop approach is that it can take a good deal of time to organize and administer. In addition, it is usually offered on a periodic basis, especially in a pilot program. This means that individuals face a time lag if they seek advice and counseling shortly after a course begins.

The second model of counseling services is to offer advice on a one-to-one basis between the counselor and counselee. This can be done through mutually convenient appointments, and the waiting time for services can be kept to a minimum. The counselor can administer assessment exercises and interest inventories and, in a series of sessions, review these with the counselee. Cassette tape recordings of some of these sessions can be particularly helpful to counselees because they may review discussions at home. Video tapes are helpful, if costs permit, to conduct and review job interviews.

The main disadvantage of the one-to-one situation is that it can become quite costly if the client's fees must cover all career guidance services provided. In a pilot program the institution may use available counselors in the community on a consulting basis. If clients come, counselors can be called; if they do not, there is no expense to the institution or sponsor. This way there is no expense for permanent staff other than the payment(s) to the individual for time he or she spends to plan and implement the program in its pilot stages. Another disadvantage is that there is little opportunity for clients to exchange views or experiences with others in similar situations.

Pilot programs can adopt variations or combinations of the course/workshop or the one-to-one counseling model. Each pilot program can experiment to determine which seems best suited for particular target audiences. The main considerations are to keep costs low and to be flexible in one's approach. Clients enrolled in one type of course may request additional counseling or help in related areas. For example, women at mid-career may want assertiveness training before entering a job search. A good service should be flexible enough and imaginative enough to first identify and then follow market needs and interests.

In summary, there are two considerations which underscore effective career guidance for adults. The first is that career guidance services are essentially short-term when compared to other kinds of counseling assistance. Individuals need help in assessing their needs and abilities, and they seek concrete information about available training programs and job opportunities. They need to develop effective resumes and career search skills. This usually can be accomlished in a three-month period in a workshop/course or in a series of perhaps five or six individual interviews. If much additional help in career planning is needed, it may reflect underlying psychological or social needs requiring longer term counseling than is usually associated with career guidance.

The second consideration is that individuals may reach the end of career counseling without taking immediate action on a new career plan or path. Individual action can occur some time in the future and, at that time, the individual may need to return for additional up-to-date advice about actually making a career move. The counseling

service should recognize this possibility and be receptive to a return visit or visits at future dates. Career decisions in adult years often involve major family considerations. The benefit from many initial adult career counseling experiences is that they raise relevant questions which may be answered some months or years in the future.

Recommendations for Research

1. What is the most effective method of assessing adult career guidance needs with questionnaires? Design various kinds of questionnaires (mail, telephone, or direct query in shopping centers) and compare results in communities with different demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Evaluate results according to the number of responses on each type of questionnaire in each community. Evaluate results according to the ultimate use of the career counseling services proposed in each questionnaire.

2. What is the most effective "host" for an adult career counseling service in the community? Establish pilot programs in a community college, adult education center, and public library and measure the use of career services in each. Establish similar kinds of pilot programs in dissimilar communities to determine which "host" is most effective when demographic and socioeconomic characteristics differ.

3. Which is most effective: group/workshop career counseling sessions or one-to-one career counseling sessions? Establish two parallel pilot programs in the same host institution. One will offer group/workshops and the second a series of one-to-one sessions. Fees will be comparable and the content of each program similar. After a designated sample, for example, fifty persons, uses each service, ask each person to complete a detailed questionnaire which evaluates each program. Compare results on the basis of these returns. Compare cost of each service with its evaluation to establish comparative cost/benefit ratios.

4. How effective is career counseling six months and one year after counseling ends? Design a detailed questionnaire which can be mailed to users of guidance services six months and one year after counseling ends. Determine extent of career decisions made after each time interval. Determine if participant evaluation of the counseling services improved or decreased over the time period. Measure the long-term impact of group/workshop versus individual counseling sessions.

5. How does effective program planning contribute to the success and longevity of counseling centers? Contact the Catalyst Network and the National Center for Educational Brokering to obtain lists of counseling centers which have survived four or more years and of those which were started since 1973 but no longer exist. Send questionnaires to the two groups (or to individuals who were associated with those which no longer exist). Ask questions about the reasons for success or failure which emphasize the role of needs assessment, kinds of services offered, and approach to outreach. Determine if there are any consistent reasons for success or failure which can be related to these issues.

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Career and Educational Guidance for Adults: An Organizational Perspective

by
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The Problem

The inadequacy of current provisions for meeting the needs of adults for information and guidance about educational and career decision making has been well documented (Carnegie Commission 1973, Comly 1975, Commission on Non-Traditional Study 1973, Ironside and Jacobs 1977). This paper examines the issue from an organizational and administrative perspective. It proposes that the roots of the problem lie to a great extent in the structural characteristics of the adult education "delivery system" and that major structural innovations are needed to provide adequate guidance and counseling services to the adult public. Accordingly, the analysis will focus first on the salient organizational characteristics of agencies which provide adult education, examine current provisions within such agencies for adult guidance and counseling services, review alternative models for the more effective provision of such services, and indicate questions for future research.

Range of Provider Agencies

Education for adults on a part-time or short-term basis is provided by numerous organizations other than schools and colleges. Of the 17,059,000 adults who participated in some form of organized part-time education in 1975, fewer than half were enrolled in activities sponsored by schools and colleges (National Center for Educational Statistics 1977). Not included in the preceding figure are an estimated 5.5 million adults who, in an earlier survey, reported that they had engaged in self-directed learning projects (Carp et al. 1974). Libraries, museums, and health and welfare agencies are major providers of adult education as are employers and membership organizations such as unions, churches, and a wide variety of voluntary associations.

When the adult education delivery system is viewed in its full scope and complexity, it is apparent that programs or services for adult guidance and related functions are simply not a priority of most providers. To be sure, correctional institutions, military education units, industrial training departments, libraries, and other agencies do in some cases provide guidance and counseling services; but these services tend to be organized on an ad hoc or informal basis.

Adult education units (agencies) sponsored by public school systems or colleges and universities often provide organized guidance and counseling services. However, such services are often severely constrained—not because their importance is not recognized but largely because of the way adult education agencies are organized and financed. It may be useful, therefore, first to review these organizational conditions in

the abstract, and then to examine actual practice in the provision of guidance and counseling services in public school and postsecondary settings.

Institutional Marginality

Almost invariably, adult education agencies are dependent units of a parent organization with other primary goals. As Clark (1968) points out in his seminal study of adult schools in California, the subordinate status of adult education within an administrative structure leads to organizational marginality. Because adult education is rarely central to what the parent organization sees as its principal goals, resource dependency and resource scarcity tend to dominate agency functioning.

While some degree of resource dependency and insecurity is characteristic of most adult education agencies, the marginality syndrome and its consequences for the provision of ancillary services such as counseling are best illustrated by examining the public school and postsecondary sector. The great majority of public school and college-sponsored adult education units operate on the basis of an enrollment economy (Clark 1968). What this means in practice is that operating revenues to a large extent are a direct function of the number of clients served. This is even true of agencies and programs (e.g., adult basic education) supported mainly by state and federal funds. Almost invariably the level of government funding is tied to enrollments: a decline in enrollments one year tends to lead to a decline in government support the following year (Mezirow et al. 1975). In most cases the direct costs of instruction (and sometimes administrative and overhead costs) must be met by tuition or fee income or by government grants tied to head count formulas.

The implications of an enrollment economy for the administrative structure and functioning of the adult education agency are profound. The most general consequence is that such agencies operate under conditions of resource deprivation (Beder 1978). For the most part, teachers and other personnel, including counselors, are hired on a part-time basis and have little training in adult education or adult counseling. Facilities are usually "borrowed" and available only during evening hours and on weekends. Investment of resources in important support services, such as guidance and counseling, tends to be sacrificed to the overriding organizational imperative to provide instruction to as many clients as possible. The organization of administrative work is heavily geared to the recruitment and marketing functions central to agency development and survival. All these conditions tend to militate against the development of adequate guidance and counseling services despite the learners' great need for them.

Counselling in School and College Agencies

A detailed analysis of the provision of guidance and counseling services in school and college adult education units is not possible here. Instead, I will review briefly some of the more salient aspects of current practice that illustrate the assertions made above about the ramifications of marginality and ane enrollment economy.

In public school adult education settings, counseling is normally provided, if at all, for adults in basic education (ABE), high school completion (HSC), and vocational training programs. The emphasis, therefore, is on educational, vocational, and personal

counseling for educationally disadvantaged adults. Confusion and controversy about the roles and tasks counselors should perform often arise. As Mezirow et al. note (1975, p. 75), "Counselors may screen students and place them in classes, test, do job placement, refer students to social service and health agencies, and counsel on a variety of educational, vocational, and personal problems." A particular point of contention is whether counselors should be mainly involved with testing or devote their time to educational, vocational, and personal counseling. Another problem often encountered in public school and some postsecondary settings is how to organize and deploy counseling personnel to provide coverage when classes are located in more than one facility.

In a study of ABE programs in cities of over 100,000 population, Mezirow et al. (1975, p. 74) observe that "counseling efforts range from a system with a specialized staff of thirteen part-time counselors coordinated by a supervisor of guidance to those in which counseling is left solely to teachers." Unpublished tabulations from a survey of 100 big-city ABE programs (Center for Adult Education 1970) provide a revealing picture of the resources devoted to counseling. Only 20 of the 100 programs reported that they employed one or more full-time counselors. Another 54 programs reported employing one or more part-time counselors. However, only 14 of these programs employed four or more part-time counseling personnel. A more recent survey of eighty-nine public school adult education agencies in New Jersey (Beder 1977) reported a mean of 91.5 teachers (median = 60); in contrast, the mean number of counselors was a mere 0.80 (median = 0.47). The mean total enrollment for these New Jersey programs was 4,182. Thus, the ratio of counselors to learners was approximately 1:5,000.

Guidance and counseling services for adults enrolled in postsecondary settings are probably more adequate on the whole than in the public school sector. In general, counseling services are most available to adults who participate in non-credit courses sponsored by community service and general extension-type units. The configuration of postsecondary adult education programs, agencies, and delivery systems is so complex, however, that virtually any generalization has to be heavily qualified. Community colleges, for example, often make more adequate provision for adult counseling services than other postsecondary providers. Harkening back to the concept of marginality, I would postulate that adult education is less marginal in community colleges because the ideology of community service tends to legitimize adult education as an important institutional goal (Harlacher 1969). Consequently, community colleges tend to allocate more resources to adult education functions, counseling included. Nontraditional external degree institutions such as Empire State College and Thomas Edison College are other special cases. In such environments, counseling plays a central role in the educational process, and resources for counseling and guidance functions are allocated accordingly (Houle 1973, Gould and Cross 1972). Such special cases, however, only serve to underscore the rule. Guidance and counseling services for adults in college and universities are staffed largely by overworked, part-time personnel. Moreover, career counseling, if provided at all, is almost always subordinated to routine academic advisement functions (DeCrow 1962, Farmer, 1971).

The foregoing analysis of the adult education delivery system leads to the following conclusions:

1. Those provider agencies such as libraries, employers, unions, and voluntary associations that are not part of the education industry typically provide little if any counseling and guidance services for adult learners.

2. The operating pressures of an enrollment economy discourage the development of adequate adult guidance and counseling services by many school and college-based providers.

3. School and college-based providers devote most of their adult counseling resources to functions such as placement of instruction; career guidance and information functions are generally neglected.

4. Adult education agencies typically provide counseling services only for their own clients; only rarely are such services available to the general adult public.

5. Significant change in the status quo is improbable in the foreseeable future because the operating constraints imposed by an enrollment economy are likely to continue.

Alternative Structures

The foregoing analysis posits a fundamental disjuncture between the capability of the adult education delivery system to provide guidance and counseling services and the need for such services on the part of the general adult public. With some notable exceptions, adult education providers simply do not have the resources to offer comprehensive career guidance and counseling services. Moreover, even where such services exist, they are almost always restricted to a particular agency's clientele. The larger community, therefore, has little or no access to educational and career counseling and information services that could provide much needed assistance related to career and educational decision making. Quite obviously, the lack of such guidance and information services had deleterious consequences not only for the public at large but also for the adult education provider agencies that depend on public awareness of their services.

One apparent remedy for this disjuncture is the development of new structures to provide comprehensive community-based guidance and information services for the adult public. Experimentation with a variety of alternative community-based models has been underway for several years. Descriptions of a number of different models and discussions of general problems and issues can be found in several recent reports (Arbeiter et al. 1976, Comly 1975, Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education 1976, Heffernan et al. 1976, Ironside and Jacobs 1977, Schlossberg 1974, Schlossberg 1975). The following analysis focuses on basic questions on the structural and administrative aspects of alternative community-based counseling and information systems.

Organizational Issues

I will use the generic term "educational information center" (EIC) to refer to any agency or organization subunit that provides community-based educational and career guidance and information services to the adult public. Admittedly, this umbrella designation encompasses a wide range of activities that differ in services provided, staffing patterns, technology, and funding arrangements. The general functions of such agencies are often referred to as "brokering" and actual titles, such as "learning

service," "academic advisory service," or "center for educational and career choice," generally attempt to avoid the remediational connotations associated with the words counseling and guidance (Comly 1975).

Perhaps the most basic organizational issue relates to the sponsorship or control of EICs. Schlossberg (1974, p. 117) argues for independence from educational provider agencies largely on the grounds that "these people who are now outside the educational system would have somewhere to turn for help in identifying and clarifying their educational and occupational goals and in finding ways to reach those goals." My own analysis of the problems provider agencies often encounter in supporting ancillary services provides an additional argument in support of Schlossberg's views. The problem as I see it, however, is sponsorship by a *single* educational provider. Sponsorship of an EIC by a consortium of providers would seem to mitigate most of the dysfunctional aspects of single-provider sponsorship while helping to build durable linkages between the adult public and a range of provider agencies that can help adults meet their educational and career development needs.

Another structural alternative is the establishment of independent EICs. The independent model has the virtue of autonomy from provider control and the administrative and financial complications attendant on such control. In the absence of dependence on providers, moreoever, it may be easier for EICs to give full attention to client needs and to act as brokers or consumer advocates. Obviously, however, harmonious working relationships with educational providers would be important to the success of autonomous EICs. The most difficult problem for independent EICs is probably the establishment of an adequate and stable financial base. Several independent EICs no longer exist because of lack of financial resources, including some that met with apparent success, such as the Providence Career Education Project and the New York City Regional Center for Lifelong Learning (Arbeiter et al. 1976, Cain et al. 1974).

A third model, exemplified by Thomas Edison College in New Jersey and the Higher Educational Library Advisory Service of New York State Regents External Degree Program, differs from the foregoing provider-sponsor model in that the avowed purpose of these external degree organizations is to facilitate and certify learning rather than to provide instruction. The EIC units of these "facilitative" external degree institutions serve the general public by providing information on learning opportunities of all kinds that can be used to earn a totally external degree.

The alternative EIC models discussed above might be labeled the "single education-provider model," the "education-provider consortium model," the "independent model," and the "facilitative external degree model." There are, of course, other models, both actual and proposed. Comly (1975), for example, mentions public libraries as possible sponsors of an EIC network. Another option might be for libraries or CETA to coordinate a network of new and/or existing EIC units. A national EIC system has been proposed by Wilson (1974). The preceding section reviews a range of alternatives on a general level and underscores the basic issue of the need for close linkages with providers versus the need for autonomy and responsiveness to public rather than provider needs. The following section briefly discusses the key issue of EIC financing.

Finance

Ironically, the resource scarcity that militates against the development of comprehensive guidance and counseling services by individual adult education providers also threatens the viability of community-based alternatives. The majority of EICs established in recent years have depended heavily on foundation support and/or state and federal assistance through Title I of the Higher Education Act, CETA, the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, National Institute of Education, and other government sources. New federal legislation (discussed below) authorizing a program of Educational Information Centers does, however, hold promise for ameliorating the financial bind in the near future.

Cost data on EICs are difficult to come by and even more difficult to interpret meaningfully. Comly (1975, p. 19) notes that per client expenditures can range from $150 to $2,000, depending on such factors as type of services provided, professional staff costs, and number of clients served. The Regional Learning Service in New York State, which uses mainly paraprofessional counselors, is able to cover direct counseling costs by charging a $50 fee. However, total per client cost is approximately $150. Costs to individuals vary greatly. Some EICs charge nothing, others use a sliding scale based on ability to pay, and still others charge substantial fees of $150 or more for individual or group counseling or a test battery (Comly 1975).

The available data are clear on one point: the costs of operating a comprehensive EIC can seldom ever be met through client fees. Many adults are simply unable or unwilling to pay even a modest fee. Also pertinent here is some research evidence (Arbeiter et al. 1976) that adult demand is greater for information than for counseling services, and adults are more willing to pay for the former than the latter.

In looking to the future, strategies for cost reduction need to be carefully considered. Statewide or regional computerized information and counseling systems, while initially inexpensive, may in the long run provide certain services more effectively and efficiently than conventional individual or group counseling. The experience of several EICs suggests that the use of paraprofessional staff for certain functions can greatly reduce costs, as can collaboration between EICs and other community service agencies for purposes of resource sharing, referral, and coordination.

Future Directions

The Education Amendments of 1976, Title I, Part A (U.S. Congress 1976, p. 17) authorize

> grants to States to pay the Federal share of the cost of planning, establishing, and operating Educational Information Centers to provide educational information, guidance, counseling, and referral services for all individuals, including individuals residing in rural areas.

The law further provides that the states make grants to any kind of educational institution or public or private agency or any combination of agencies for purposes of planning and operating EICs. Clearly then, the organization of future community-based guidance and information services is very much an open question.

The key issue is succinctly stated by Comly (1975, p. 25): "What are the desirable **characteristics of, and best methods of providing, educational and career information** and counseling services for the adult public?" The answer, of course, will vary from state to state, depending in part on the nature and configuration of existing resources. In almost every state, however, a great deal of preliminary research, planning, and experimentation is needed before informed policy decisions can be made. The present analysis suggests that one option mentioned by Comly (1975, p. 24), namely, to "increase funding to educational institutions for the development of counseling services for a broad public," is probably undesirable on at least two grounds.

Assuming individual providers rather than provider consortiums are to be funded, there is the danger that the EIC, even if not administratively attached to the provider's adult education unit, will suffer some of the negative consequences of marginality. Why predict marginality? First, because the EIC's purpose of providing guidance and information services to adults is peripheral to the principal purposes of most educational institutions. (Many community colleges and nearly all external degree institutions are notable exceptions.) Second, the EIC, unlike the traditional counseling unit, would not directly serve the institution's maintenance needs because its clientele would consist of the adult public rather than the provider's own students. Thus institutional support for an EIC (such as an adult education unit) would, over time, be highly problematical in many settings.

Some members of the public served by the EIC would, of course, decide to enroll in the provider institution, but this raises the second main prblem. That problem, in short, is the potential conflict of interest between an EIC, which exists to serve the individual needs of its clients, and sponsorship by a provider agency, which is probably looking to augment its student body. For these reasons, then, the individual education-provider model has the least to recommend it as an organizational strategy for the development of EICs.

Recommendations for Research

The organization and administration of adult guidance and information services have received extremely little systematic attention from researchers. This is equally true of traditional guidance and counseling activities sponsored by adult education providers and of nontraditional community-based alternatives. From an organizational perspective, the overarching question relates to the most effective and efficient means of organizing resources to meet the educational and career counseling and information needs of the adult public. While there are a multitude of important research questions, I will deal with three general areas that I consider to have highest priority.

1. There is a great need for analytical and descriptive research on the nature and extent of current counseling provisions for adult learners in public school and postsecondary settings. Large-scale studies are needed to provide reliable and generalizable data on such questions as staffing patterns, counselor roles and tasks, financing of counseling activities, linkages with community-based health and social welfare services, and general problems of organization and administration of counselnig, including the issue of articulation between adult education units and counseling units designed to serve pre-adult, full-time

students. In short, to better serve the educational and career guidance and information needs of adults, we need a fuller understanding of what is being done now by traditional provider agencies.

2. Systematic comparative studies are needed to examine closely the strengths and weaknesses of alternative models for organizing community-based educational and career guidance and information services. Quality of service, costs, and number of clients assisted should be examined in relation to patterns of organization and control (e.g., independent EICs versus consortium-sponsored EICs), staffing practices (e.g., use of paraprofessionals or peer counselors), innovative delivery systems (e.g., satellite centers, mobile counseling units), technology (e.g., computerized information and/or guidance systems, group versus individual counseling), and patterns of cooperative linkage with other agencies that can refer clients or to which referrals can be made and which can provide supplementary services. We need to know what organizational patterns and administrative practices work best under what conditions to form a scund basis for public policy decisions concerning the structure and financing of community-based guidance and information systems.

3. Finally, there is a need for policy-oriented research to examine alternative approaches to providing broad-based and stable financial support for EICs and to examine costs and benefits of EIC services to individuals and to society. I have argued that individual adult clients cannot be expected to support the full costs of operating an EIC. While the new Title I legislation holds promise for some federal assistance, even is substantial sums are eventually appropriated, they will probably not suffice to meet the need in most states. Consequently, alternative funding sources and arrangements must be identified and evaluated. There are many possibilities that could be explored, including, for example, the creation of an educational entitlement that would include counseling as well as educational services, or support under current or revised CETA legislation, or partial state support or other incentives to encourage education providers or library systems to form EIC consortiums. Cost/benefit studies are also needed, although it is difficult to quantify the benefits to individuals and society of any educational or social service. Nonetheless, this is an area in which at least preliminary work is needed to help guide public policy decisions concerning who should pay how much for what services.

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Career Guidance for Adults: Program Staff

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Definitions and Introduction

A prerequisite to a discussion of staffing, staff development, and leadership in career guidance for adults is to define what "career" is and what "guidance" means. Career usually means a related sequence of jobs held by an individual. As Wilensky (1968) states in his structural definition: "A career is a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more or less predictable) sequence" (p. 323). Recently though, the term "career" has assumed a new connotation which is much broader than the structural definition generally accepted in the past.

For example, Hoyt's definition of career as "the totality of work one does in his or her lifetime" may not seem particularly different from Wilensky's until one looks at Hoyt's definition of work. "Work is conscious effort, other than activities whose primary purpose is related to coping or relaxation, aimed at producing socially acceptable benefits for oneself or for oneself and others" (Hoyt 1975, p. 304). In this definition, then, work is not limited to what one does on a job. A job may be work if it leads to the production of socially acceptable benefits, but a job may also *not* be work and thus not be part of a career if the job does not lead to the production of socially acceptable benefits. A dulling, routine activity on an assembly line which produces an unneeded and energy inefficient appliance would, for example, not be considered work and would not be part of a career according to Hoyt's definition. In contrast, volunteer service or other unpaid efforts may be work and thus may be included in Hoyt's notion of career although such efforts would not be included in Wilensky's.

While the concept of career has been usefully broadened in definitions such as Hoyt's to include more than a job or series of jobs, in some cases (see, for example, McMurrin 1973), the meaning of career seems to have been broadened even further to include all or virtually all of an individual's activities. Hoyt's definition is used in this paper because it expands the definition of career beyond job and, as a consequence, expands the definition of career guidance beyond guidance related only to jobs. The use of Hoyt's definition of career is not intended, however, to suggest the acceptance of a definition which makes identical career and the whole of an individual's activities. A definition that broad renders the term "career" meaningless.

Guidance, which will be used interchangeably with counseling in this paper, refers to a process through which individuals, sometimes alone and sometimes in groups, are helped to make sound decisions about who they are and what they will do. Guidance can be as simple as helping a new adult student choose his or her first course in a degree program or as complicated as long-term therapy to help a person restructure his

or her life. Most guidance of adults involved in educational programs and in work is of the simpler kind. Long-term therapy, however, is needed in a minority of cases and thus is included, at least tangentially, in the definition of guidance used in this paper.

Career guidance for adults refers to the process of helping adults to make sound decisions about themselves within the broad arena of productive activities leading to socially acceptable benefits.

The present state of counseling for adults, what counseling services adults seem to need, who should provide those services, and what competencies counselors of adults should have are discussed in the following pages. A summary and suggestions for research conclude the paper.

The Present Situation

Guidance and counseling services for adolescents are widely available. Ordinarily these services are provided by high schools and postsecondary institutions although guidance services are offered by virtually every social service agency, both public and private. Counselors of adolescents are routinely trained in guidance programs and clinical psychology programs commonly found in American colleges and universities. But the same is certainly not true for counselors of adults.

The literature of adult education is replete with references to the need for and the lack of counseling services for adults. (See, for example, Farmer 1967, Knox and Farmer 1971.) Not only have there been few counseling services for adults in the past but also those that do exist are staffed by counselors who are either not trained as counselors at all or who have been trained as counselors of adolescents but not as counselors of adults (Porter 1970, p. 275).

This situation should not, however, surprise anyone; adulthood has generally been ignored in social and behavioral science research.

> The word "adulthood" figures rarely in the scientific literature of our time; it has none of the concreteness that attaches to terms such as "childhood" and "adolescence," and indeed seems to be a catch-all category for everything that happens to the individual human being after a specific chronological age—whether eighteen, twenty-one, or some other. (Graubard 1976, p. v)

But there does seem to be a developing interest in adulthood as an identifiable time of life through which people pass in a reasonably predictable fashion. Perhaps this interest will lead to a "century of the adult" since an intense preoccupation with youth has resulted in the scientific focus on that age group thus far in the twentieth century (Graubard 1976, p. v.).

It is important that the scientific community continue to define adulthood with its problems and stages both in general and in terms of counseling for adults. Adults are clearly different from adolescents and children and from each other at different stages of adulthood (Neugarten 1964, pp. 188-200). Furthermore, counseling based on an understanding of adolescence is not adequate for adults; a different set of constructs and different training are needed (Schlossberg 1976; p. 34).

While counseling services for adults are not common today, these services are appearing with greater frequency than before, particularly as part of degree programs for adults (Hall 1975), competency-based degree programs which are often attractive to adults (Trivett 1975), and brokering agencies (Heffernan 1976). Harrington (1977, p. 29) senses a general improvement in the availability of counseling in adult education programs; and Hoyle (1973) in commenting on external degree programs, states:

> At the present time, virtually all directors of new programs are handpicking their students, offering them elaborate counseling and guidance, providing introductory services to help them achieve or regain learning skills and re-establish confidence in their educational abilities, and setting up banks of data concerning their backgrounds and accomplishments. (p. 161)

Educational brokering agencies stress advice to adults but in a context different from the counseling services connected with degree programs. Brokering agencies usually do not provide instruction. Brokering agencies act as "go-betweens" in an effort to help adults find appropriate services from a wide variety of *other* agencies, services not provided by the brokers (Heffernan 1976, p. v).

Students in the new degree programs report that counseling services are generally adequate (Medsker 1975, p. 126). But one should remember that students in these new programs account for only a small percentage of all adults in educational programs and an even smaller percentage of the adults who could benefit if they were participants. In short, even though there are signs of improvement, educational institutions still have a long way to go in providing adequate counseling services for adults.

At the national level, those responsible for formulating educational policy appear to be recognizing the need for and lack of counseling services for adults. The recent funding for the planning of Educational Information Centers may be evidence of this recognition. National leaders in education, particularly in higher education, are also sensing the problem and the need. For example, Hesburgh and his colleagues called for congressional enactment of a "universal bill of educational rights" which would "include a strong counseling program" available to all citizens in every community (Hesburgh 1973, pp. 15 and 16).

But even if the attention of the national government and of educators is slowly shifting to include counseling services for adults, the counseling services presently available to adults are inadequate to meet the need.

What Counseling Services Do Adults Need?

Perhaps counseling services for adults have been slow to develop because adulthood has been thought of as a time of order and stability--a time when counseling is not needed. Adolescence is recognized as a time of physical and emotional turmoil during which major decisions about jobs and education have traditionally been made.

But adulthood is not as easily contrasted with adolescence as has been commonly assumed. For example, adults do not, in general, follow orderly work lives. According to Wilensky (1968),

> In the middle mass (of workers)—a relatively secure population, well-off by American standards—only 30 percent can by any stretch of the imagination be said to act out half or more of their work histories in an orderly career. If we count the lower class, excluded from (our present) sample, it is apparent that a vast majority of the labor force is going nowhere in an unordered way or can expect a worklife of thoroughly unpredictable ups and downs. (pp. 325 and 326)

Such lack of predictability cannot help but affect adults negatively and strain their ability to adapt to and cope with the changes of feeling and information demanded in their lives. Appropriate counseling can help adults meet these demands for continued learning and change just as appropriate counseling can and does help adolescents. But to be fully helpful, counseling for adults needs to be designed especially for adults—not for adolescents or children.

In writing of the need for affective adjustment when adults choose to or are forced to change their work, Belbin and Belbin (1968) state:

> Although there are a number of factors in the training environment liable to discourage the mature worker, the core of the problem is likely to be one of emotional adjustment.
>
> The most promising means of insuring reorientation towards training on an individual basis would seem to be through personal counseling. As yet, we are on the threshold of our knowledge of how counseling can be adapted to the special needs of the middle-aged worker. There is certainly a need for an integrated service which could take account of information on established skills, personality, and physical fitness on the one hand and job opportunities, job demands, and employment trends on the other. Clearly this is a field in which a great deal of research and development will be demanded in future years. (p. 344)

It appears that many adults need a variety of services at various times in their lives to help them make good decisions about themselves in a changing environment. Although exactly what these services should include is not presently known, or at least not presently verified by research, some distinctions can be made based on experience and on anecdotal evidence.

Both Medsker and Knowles identify three kinds of counseling which might be included on multifaceted counseling services for adults. These are services related to educational needs, to job and work needs, and to personal needs (Medsker 1975, pp. 125-131, Knowles 1970, pp. 134 and 135). This trichotomy of services seems to make common sense. Many adults need accurate and timely information about educational programs and opportunites for work open to them. Most adults considering reengaging in education or changing their line of work seem to need the support of others who care

and are knowledgeable about what they are trying to accomplish. This kind of support usually stops short of therapy. And, finally, a relatively small percentage of adults do need therapy to help them understand their own abilities and to help them cope with their changing relationship to the world.

Who Can Provide Counseling Services?

Each of these services—educational, vocational, and personal—can be provided well by counselors who have been professionally trained, particularly if they have had coursework on adulthood and/or have had experience with adult clients. But both educational and vocational counseling, including the personal support that can come from listening to and caring about individual adults, can also be provided by less formally trained people. This is probably fortunate since the need for educational and vocational counseling seems great while the formal training programs to prepare counselors to serve adults do not exist (Riggs 1978, pp. 2 and 3). It must be added immediately, however, that therapy, the most complex and sensitive kind of counseling, should be left to professionally trained counselors, clinical psychologists, and psychiatrists.

Some counselors, though, seem to believe that counseling services can only be provided by professionally trained counselors. These counselors see the counseling task as very complex and as always involving some degree of therapy. Langdon's (1969) description of the purpose of guidance for adults is an example of this point of view.

> Through a basic program of guidance services the adult learner is helped to know who he is and how he has come to be. He is apprised of environmental components and opportunities, and he receives the personal assistance of a professional counselor in his quest for selfhood in relation to the world of experience. In essence, he is afforded maximal opportunity to become whatever heredity and environment allow. (p. 236)

This point of view seems overly rigid and unrealistic given the circumstances most adults face.

Most adults do not feel that they need therapy to cope with the world and even if they do need it, most do not have the time and money required for long-term therapy. Adults use their discretionary time to pursue their careers and look for counseling only when they have a specific need for information or for support. If adults are to receive counseling, then, it seems that counseling will have to come to them most often from people who are not primarily counselors and who are not professionally trained as counselors. In fact, Langdon concedes that much counseling will have to be provided for "non-counselors" who do counseling because they are there when adults need it and when adults are open to it (Langdon 1969, p. 236).

Short of therapy, then, it seems that career guidance services could be provided by almost everyone with whom adults come into contact as they make decisions about their careers. (Remember that "career" is used here in a much broader sense than a series of jobs.) Often counseling services, particularly those through which information and support are provided to adults who are involved in educational programs or who are

changing their line of work, can best be provided by the individuals with whom the adults naturally come into contact (and these are ordinarily not professionally trained counselors or therapists).

Instructors are an obvious example of people through whom information and support of a counseling nature can be provided. Adults receive instruction in many settings from instructors whose task is to help them learn specific subject matter and skills. But these same instructors are in an ideal position to help adults gather other information not related to the subject being studied. This information may be about a degree program designed for adult students, about a job search service offered by a social agency unknown to the student, or about a volunteer project from which the adult might benefit and to which the adult could contribute.

Instructors are also in an ideal position to support adult students in ways which go far beyond the particular educational activity in which they are engaged (but which stop short of therapy). When it is honestly deserved, instructors can provide immediate, positive reinforcement to adult students. Instructors, even in the relatively little time before and after class, can also help their adult students muster the energy to continue with their efforts or, on some occasions, the courage to stop.

Educational administrators and student advisors as well as the clerical staffs of educational institutions come into regular contact with adults who can be assumed to be making decisions about themselves and their careers. After all, that is almost invariably why adults are present in educational institutions. These "non-counselors" can play a useful and important role in providing counseling in its less formal sense to adults and in giving personal support too.

Business managers and the managers of voluntary enterprises can provide limited counseling services for their employees and volunteers in a manner much like educational administrators and other staff members of educational institutions, although the assumption that can usually be made about adults in educational institutions—that they are in a process of change—cannot necessarily be made of employees and volunteers. Thus, superiors in business and voluntary organizations may engage in informal counseling related to their subordinates' careers less often than instructors and other staff members of educational institutions do with their students, but they do have counseling opportunities.

Adults often rely heavily on the support of family members and friends, when that support is forthcoming. Family members and friends may not be able to supply information needed by adults to make decisions about their careers, but family members and friends can offer a supportive environment in which alternative choices can be explored and evaluated. This support, a kind of informal counseling, seems particularly important to adults in educational programs. Adults who do not enjoy the support of their families and friends appear to discontinue their studies at a much higher rate than adults who do have such support. Some thought ought to be given to how these "natural" counselors can be helped to recognize the potential importance of their role and to perform it well.

Informal counseling provided by the people with whom adults come into contact in the pursuit of their careers seems to make sense for a number of reasons as long as it

stops short of therapy. Informal counseling by people primarily engaged in other roles makes sense because:

1. It can save adults time by tying counseling to other activities in which the adults are already engaged.

2. It can provide specific information from people who are in an excellent position to know. This is especially true of people who provide information within their own business or academic specialities.

3. It can meet the specific needs of an adult with an appropriate response which grows out of a context or relationship developed in the ongoing activity. Thus, it may render the development of a "counselor-client" relationship unnecessary since a relationship of trust may already exist.

4. It can provide many more opportunities for counseling than would be possible through formal counseling alone.

5. It can encourage adults to seek out sources of information and personal support in a natural setting—the world around them.

But not all the needs of adults for career guidance can be met through informal counseling. Some adults need the services of a person trained in psychological assessment, test interpretation, and other methods of psychological analysis either as their counselor or as an adjunct to their counselor. Other adults, who are contemplating a radical change of job or considering entering the job market with little or no recent job experience, need a person more broadly versed in the complexities of the labor market than an informal counselor can be expected to be. Still other adults, most probably a minority, may need therapy to help them redirect their careers and perhaps their lives. Adults with these needs or with other unusual physical or psychological conditions cannot rely on informal counseling alone; they should seek out and receive professional guidance from people with the knowledge, skills, and empathy commensurate with their need.

What Competencies Do Counselors Need?

Counseling is a complex activity which demands a wide variety of competencies, but one competency is essential for all counselors whether their primary role is counseling or not. A brief statement by Wrenn (1952) highlights this basic competency:

> The truth, of course, is that counseling is a combination of a science and an art. You practice an art in dealing with people skillfully and with sensitivity, but your ability to do so is greatly enhanced by systematic knowledge. (p. 9)

The ability to deal with people skillfully and with sensitivity, then, is a necessary competency for being a counselor although personal skill and sensitivity alone are not sufficient for a counselor who wishes to perform the full range of counseling services from information-giving to long-term therapy. Knowledge mastered in counselor training

programs and analytic skills developed in practice can be helpful to all counselors, but the personal qualities of the counselor, including a "pattern of interest" in helping others and the emotional stability to be able to help, are essential (Wrenn 1952, p. 10).

In addition to this basic characteristic, one can cite many different formulations of what competencies counselors should have. Some appear to be based on the common sense and experience of the person who presents them; others are based on empirical evidence. But all the descriptions of desired competencies generally resemble each other in tone and content. For example, Miller (1969) suggests a set of characteristics and skills that counselors should have based apparently on her personal experience as a counselor of older adults. She says counselors must like people, be worthy of trust, and be accepting and nonjudgmental—"neither threatening nor overly authoritarian in method." Further, she feels counselors must be skilled in listening and in understanding verbal and nonverbal cues, in analyzing and evaluating what clients communicate, and in basing their counseling on the wants and needs of their clients (pp. 52 and 53).

In a similar vein, Heffernan and his colleagues (1976) suggest that

> in analyzing adult learner needs, brokering agencies attempt a balance between a "seat of the pants" approach in which a wide range of anecdotal evidence is gathered as the basis for judgments and a social science approach which is based on conventional counseling data. (pp. 22 and 23)

The brokers who attempt to strike this balance may or may not be professionally trained counselors; but they are expected to exhibit compatibility, flexibility, and an orientation to people. They should be people with "local savvy, special resources and talents, and a real capacity and desire for helping adult learners of many stripes and styles." Furthermore, the brokers must be able to work with a wide range of people, be task-oriented, and be, if possible, charismatic (Heffernan 1976, p. 25).

In contrast to Miller's and Heffernan's descriptions, which are based on personal observation and experience, Menne's (1975) competencies for counselors are based on a study "to determine, as nearly as possible, the entire range of important competencies counselors must possess in order to best facilitate positive client outcomes" (p. 547). In her study, Menne elicited lists of competencies from 75 experienced counselors which she then had rated for importance by 376 experienced counselors (pp. 548 and 549). The rated competencies were grouped into twelve factors which contained from four to twenty competencies each. While the ratings of the factors varied depending on the background and circumstances of the raters, the four sets of competencies rated most highly by the largest number of counselors contain many familiar items (pp. 549-551).

The four most highly rated factors—personal ethics, self-awareness, personal characteristics, and listening/communicating—all have to do with what kind of person the counselor is and not necessarily what he or she has learned in training. These four highly rated factors stress aspects of the personal side of counseling or the "art" of counseling, as Wrenn called it. The remaining eight factors Menne identifies in the study seem more related to technical aspects of counseling and professional training for counseling than to counseling as an art: testing skills, counseling comprehension, behavioral science, societal awareness, tutoring techniques, professional credentials, counselor training, and vocational guidance (p. 549).

While various subsets of the profession seem to disagree about the way they would rank the competencies counselors need, there does seem to be general agreement that all counselors must be skillful and sensitive in their relations with their clients and that they must have the level of technical skills, such as testing, test interpretation, and analytic methods, to match the complexity of the counseling services needed by a given client. Skillful and sensitive people who are not professionally trained counselors can effectively provide information and temporary support in simple, short-term counseling situations. Fully trained professionals—counselors with a grasp of both the art and the science of counseling—are needed in complex, long-term situations. And while the fully trained professional can most often succeed in the simple situations, the skillfull, sensitive amateur will often fail in the complex.

Summary

If, in this paper, career counseling for adults had been defined as relating only to jobs, then the kind of counseling adults seem to need, the people who can counsel, and the competencies necessary for counseling might have been defined more narrowly than they have been. A narrow definition, however, did not seem appropriate because adults are engaged in many serious and socially beneficial activities which are not jobs but which have the character of work and which are part of adults' careers.

Given a broad definition of career, a broad definition of what kind of counseling is needed by adults and what competencies counselors need follow. The counseling services needed range from simple information-giving and human support to long-term therapy. The people who may be able to counsel effectively range equally widely, from instructors and supervisors who are not engaged primarily as counselors but who constantly come into contact with adults to people who are primarily counselors and who are professionally trained for that role. The competencies needed by counselors range from a basic competency in relating to people to a complex and technical knowledge of psychological assessment and analysis and a wide-ranging grasp of the academic and career-related intricacies confronting adults.

In this paper, I have overcome the temptation to limit the delivery of counseling to professionally trained counselors for two reasons, one having to do with the ordinary behavior of adults and the other having to do with the availability of counselors trained to work with adults. Most adults do not feel they need therapy. When they want counseling, they usually want it in regard to a particular problem they are facing. In solving their particular problems, which often means gathering information about a service or program, adults tend to go to people with whom they ordinarily interact—employers, supervisors, friends, family members, volunteer leaders, or instructors. Adults do not usually seek out a professinally trained counselor unless they want therapy and even if they do seek out a professionally trained counselor for therapy, they are likely to gather advice concurrently from their instructor, supervisor, or some other familiar person. Since professionally trained counselors seem to be seen as having a role limited to therapy and since adults tend to use people who are not engaged primarily as counselors for simple counseling services, it seems reasonable to encourage this pattern in situations in which it is effective, efficient, and economical.

Furthermore, there are, in fact, few professionally trained counselors who are prepared to work with adult clients. Counselors are ordinarily prepared to work with

adolescents; few, if any, college or university programs prepare counselors for adults. Those few counselors who are primarily interested in adults have migrated from other counseling specialities. In short, people who are not primarily counselors will have to counsel adults at least for the foreseeable future if for no other reason than there are not enough professionally trained counselors to provide the level of services needed.

It is fortunate that, if they remain within their limits of knowledge and experience, people who are not primarily counselors can and do perform well as counselors of adults. And with inservice training in the technical aspects of counseling, these "amateurs" can be expected to provide equally as well an increasing range of counseling and referral services.

Recommendations for Research

With a subject as complex as career guidance for adults, it would be possible to develop an almost infinite number of potentially useful and illuminating research problems. But, since this paper is limited to what counseling services adults need, who should provide counseling services, and what their competencies should be, the suggestions for research that follow are similarly limited.

1. What counseling services do adults need? Most research on counseling services seems focused on the methods and effectiveness of professionally trained counselors. Since much counseling for adults, especially in educational programs, is not done by professionally trained counselors and since the new degree programs and brokering agencies are still evolving, it would be useful to the field to develop and test a series of carefully differentiated services to determine what effect each seems to have on adults in various settings. At the present time, the counseling services of new degree programs and brokering agencies seem so eclectic and so often charged with the enthusiasm of their founders that it is difficult, if not impossible, to find out what parts of the services are more or less effective than others.

2. Who can provide counseling services for adults? This paper argues that many of the counseling services adults need in simple situations can be performed and will inevitably be performed by people not primarily engaged in counseling and not trained in counseling. While this assertion is supported by much anecdotal evidence, it would be wise to test it empirically. Out of such an empirical test would most likely come a gross answer to the question: Are informal counselors effective with adults? Even more important is that a set of specific answers to the following question should also come forth: What kinds of informal counselors work best with what kinds of adults in what settings? It seems important to develop empirical evidence in this area of inquiry because informal counselors clearly have the potential to meet adults' needs for services in the near future at low cost, if needed informal counselors can be shown to be effective.

3. What competencies do counselors of adults need? Studies and statements on what competencies counselors need seem to agree that counselors must, first and foremost, be good people and that technical skill and knowledge are

important to counselors in at least some situations but that technical skill and knowledge are not sufficient conditions for effective counseling. One conclusion which seems to follow is that developing effective counselors is largely, or at least initially, a problem of selection and not training. If this is so, it might be interesting to review the literature to find what psychological measures seem to correlate well with the desired personal characteristics of an effective counselor and subsequently to develop an efficient screening battery for identifying potentially effective counselors by testing various combinations of these measures.

It might also be useful to replicate Menne's study of the competencies of counselors valued by experienced counselors, using adults who have had successful counseling experiences as the expert panels. A variation of this suggestion would be to replicate Menne's study, using two panels of adults, one of which has had successful counseling experiences with professionally trained counselors and the other of which has had such experiences with informal counselors. The resulting data might show differences of opinion as great as those of the various groups of experienced counselors in Menne's sample.

Going beyond the personal characteristics apparently needed for effective counseling, it would be useful to know what different technical skills and knowledge are needed for counseling adults as compared to those needed for counseling adolescents. This could help educators who prepare counselors, on the one hand, and trained counselors who wish to refocus their careers on adults, on the other, to design and choose educational programs which will prepare effective counselors of adults.

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Program Evaluation: Process and Product

by
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Introduction

This paper presents an overview of the nature and form of adult career guidance programs to provide a context for appraising current evaluation efforts. A brief section describing some approaches to evaluation is followed by a proposal for adopting a comprehensive approach to evaluation. The concluding section lists a series of research questions that can be investigated in the evaluation of adult guidance programs.

Part I: A Perspective of the Evaluation of Adult Career Guidance Programs

Two major issues are involved in the evaluation of adult career guidance delivery services or programs. They are (1) the nature or form of these delivery services (programs, systems, models), and (2) the nature or approaches of the current evaluation models. Since this review focuses on the problems and issues of the evaluation of adult career guidance, the nature of the adult career guidance programs will be discussed only as it affects the evaluation of the programs.

Nature of Adult Career Guidance Delivery Services

Programs of adult guidance are rich in their diversity (Harrison and Entine 1976). They may include one or more of these components: self-assessment of abilities, interests, and values; provision of information of educational opportunities; career decision making; job referrals; and the job search. However, programs of career counseling are generally small and inadequately funded or funded only on a short-term basis. The programs are organized around a number of theoretical points of view about career development and decision making, and, most important, they are conceptualized and managed by persons with a strong human service perspective. In recent years more attention has been given to computer-based and individual self-directed searches, which are sufficiently structured so they can be evaluated in a number of settings and locations used by adults with differing needs, experiences, and personality characteristics.

The demand for accountability is as deeply felt by persons managing an adult career guidance service as any group of managers of social welfare programs. Evauation and research are an integral part in some of the major efforts in adult career counseling (e.g., Educational Development Center 1976, Heffernan et al. 1976). There is also a considerable amount of discussion given to the need for evaluation. However, in a review of the evaluation design used in the evaluation of career education programs (not restricted to adult career guidance), Asche and Finch (1978) note that the current designs vary in sophistication and in quality, depending on the expertise of a local

evaluator. Too often, a single outcome measure is used to assess impact. The most cited problem is instrumentation. Only one evaluation employed a comparison-groups design using randomization. In a 1974 national survey of adult career planning and development programs for women, ethnic minorities, and mid-career changes conducted by the American Institutes for Research (Harrison and Entine 1976), the evaluation practices of the local centers is judged as "weak." Few programs use specific and measurable client objectives in their planning and evaluation. Of those conducting an evaluation, one-third stated that they collected anecdotal reports of success. No estimates of cost/benefit are included because of the paucity of comparable data from all programs.

Perhaps the most plausible reason for the current practice of evaluation is interaction of the philosophical orientation of the program developers and the difficulty in defending the measures of counseling performance now available. Counseling-oriented persons would rather serve and help than judge or be judged; are concerned by the interruptive effectives of evaluation; and are not facile with or sympathetic toward highly structured formal data gathering activities and analyses. Their reliance on clincial judgments, concern over confidentiality, and humanistic values outweigh the elegance of a sophisticated data analysis. To them, this form of evaluation oversimplifies effeciency and effectiveness.

Nature of Evaluation

There are a multitude of definitions and conceptualizations of evaluation, each based on a different set of assumptions (Guba 1977, House 1978). Two major dimensions that distinguish how an evaluation might be employed are (1) the role of program objectives and (2) the methodologies or designs employed in collecting evaluative information. At one extreme is an experimental design in which output measures (such as career maturity) are used as an indicator of program impact or effectiveness. The outcome measures reflect the salient program objectives. While this approach incorporates methodological ideals, many evaluators find that a single or few outcome measures tied to program goals are too restrictive. Standards of performance, unintended consequences, attention to program processes, judgment data collected from multiple perspectives, and assessments of worth are not incorporated into their research oriented model. At the other extreme is the case study approach in which qualitative information about program activities (such as the counseling process) are collected through naturalistic observations, interviews, and photography. In this approach, evaluative information serves a formative role in which the evaluator works closely with the program developers and managers in assisting them to understand what is happening (Stake 1978, Ross and Cronbach 1976). Evaluation is viewed as the collection, analysis, summarization, and utilization of information about all phases of a program, including its policies, objectives, activities, possible influences, and impact. Despite these differences in the practice of evaluation, there is one predominant role. The evaluator is primarily an information provider, a caretaker of information who can be used by others for a variety of purposes.

For adult guidance program, an evaluation can potentially—

1. provide data for decision and policy making regarding program improvement and support;

2. demonstrate accountability to various audiences requiring that the centers be responsible

3. provide data for assessing the practical and operational consequences of the theory of career development of adults.

To fulfill these diverse purposes of evaluation, I propose that a comprehensive approach to the evaluation of adult career guidance programs be encouraged. The approach is comprehensive if it (1) is based on the purpose of the evaluation; (2) takes into account different audience needs for information; and (3) incorporates a variety of methods of data gathering, analysis, and reporting, each selected to best meet both the information needs and the nature of what is to be evaluated.

Part II: Comprehensive Evaluation

A comprehensive evaluation of adult career guidance delivery programs should include the following:

1. The purpose and goals of the program, including its genesis and support within the local community, its directionality, and its clarity of goals and objectives.

2. The program's outreach, visibility, and liaison with other services, agencies, employers, placement offices, community organizations, and churches.

3. The quality, recency, and appropriateness of resource materials on educational opportunities, local and national job market analysis and projections, career opportunities, and entry requisites for various careers.

4. The management of the services as viewed by adult educator, prospective employers, placement agency personel, and, most important, the participants. If one of the goals of adult career programs is efficiency, the program needs to be evaluated on its extent of usage, accessibility to large segments of the population, physical location of centers, marketing procedures, and ability to provide cost estimates of the different components of a service.

5. The effectiveness of the center, program, or services. Evaluative information which can be used to judge effectiveness is difficult to obtain and in adult guidance programs, obtaining internally valid evaluations will continue to be difficult. Instead, qualitative, impressionistic, and attitudinal information that is collected through such methods as naturalistic observations, intensive interviews, and open-end questionnaires seems useful for estimating impact. Perhaps equally important is the need to obtain opinions and value perspectives from a variety of audiences. The most obvious and best source is the participant, but others can also provide important information: relatives, personal friends of the participant, career guidance professionals, staff, local educators, and employers. Each can provide judgment data that can be useful to the staff. "External" professionals can be used to assess the level of functioning (career maturity, insightfulness, and realism of future planned

courses of action), although the cost of professionals to evaluate the client's decision-making ability necessitates their use as a part of planned systematic study of guidance effectiveness.

Not only is information from a variety of perspectives useful, but also information collected from these sources at different times in the career development of the participant will be useful in assessing changes resulting from career guidance and in assessing the long-range effects and changes.

Recommendations for Research

This section poses questions about the evaluation of adult career guidance programs. Some of the questions represent components of counseling that are especially in need of evaluation, while others suggest a metaevaluation of current and proposed evaluation strategies. These questions are organized around six major issues which follow.

1. *Participation in Adult Career Guidance Services*

   a. How aware are adults of adult counseling opportunities and how important is this awareness?

   b. What is the payoff of the outreach communication and marketing strategies currently employed?

   c. What is the impact of the location of services (within an educational setting, civic building, downtown, or shopping center store front)?

   d. What is the referral flow from other agencies to the center or agency with adult guidance services?

      According to survey data, adults are not aware of continuing educational and counseling opportunities. Many more adults, especially those with a limited formal education, would take advantage of the personal service delivery programs if they knew of them and could conveniently participate in them.

   e. What are the demographic characteristics of persons participating in guidance programs, and do different types of adults participate in different types of programs?

   f. Do participants expect to establish a counseling relationship with a professional, learn of vocational opportunities, or obtain a position, or do they have other reasons for participating? What expectations and reasons for participating are most prevalent, and how do they affect one's assessment of the benefits of the experience?

      Many types of adults are participating in adult career guidance programs. Information on such demographic variables as age, sex, previous

vocational careers, socioeconomic status, marital status, reason for seeking counseling (reentry, initial entry, dissatisfaction with current career), and immediate career aspirations and expectations is easy to collect and aggregate. If adults with different demographic characteristics respond to different approaches to career guidance, then is it possible to prescribe identifiable counseling strategies for maximum effectiveness as measured by client satisfaction, future employment status, and other variables?

2. *Organization and Structure of Guidance Services*

   a. What are the theoretical bases for the organization of the services, and what types of exercises and activities do participants engage in during the counseling process?

      Most current adult guidance systems purport to be based on a theory of career development and vocational choice. Counseling programs have been based on the ideas of exploration, crystallization, planning, and implementation, which is a developmental view; a differentialist view such as the person-environment typologies described by Holland; or the social learning approach which emphasizes the social and environmental determinants of career development. Although some data have been collected, more empirical evidence is needed to test the validity of these theories.

   b. Are there components common to all services? Given the diverse set of career guidance delivery programs, are there goals, strategies, and activities common to all? Can a career guidance program be divided into identifiable components (e.g., a provision of career information; self-analysis of interests, personality traits, and career aspirations; provision of information on requisite educational requirements for initial entry into a career; decision making in career selection; and referral behavior) so that planned variations with unique combinations of the components can be implemented at local settings and agencies?

      Two approaches to the evaluation of the planned variations are possible: (1) develop alternative series of components and keep each series intact and highly controlled so that each prototype program can be tested for its influence as measured by some criterion, or (2) develop a series of components and evaluate in-depth each component in the series to study the interrelationships of the components. In the first, the focus is summative, a field test of a prototype, with an emphasis on maximizing internal validity. In the second, the focus is on what is happening in each component, using more qualitative information collected from a variety of sources (e.g., in-depth interviews, case studies) to assess its importance within the counseling process.

   c. What is the relationship (formal and informal) between centers and programs of adult guidance and other agencies like community service and social welfare organizations, educational institutions, private employment placement agencies, and potential and actual employers?

d. How much are self-directed study and exercises used, what problems are encountered, and under what conditions are these techniques most effective?

Self-directed searches, self-administered instruments, auto-tutorial methods of instruction, and computer-based activities are used more frequently today than in the past. To what extent do participants understand and accept their involvement with "impersonal" interventions? Do they understand the terminology the writers of vocational counseling literature use? An achievement or master test could be given to participants to assess their level of understanding of the classification schemes employed. Attitude surveys could be used to measure the reasonableness of the activities. In-depth interviews reveal some of the problems of relevance. Today the computer is being used to provide information about careers and to provide simulation exercises by which a client can participate in some career planning and decision making, for example, INQUIRY (Farmer 1976). There is some evidence that adults who have not used a computer are uncomfortable with it. What steps can be taken to alleviate this problem?

e. Are the manuals and guidebooks now available (e.g., Career Education Project of Education Development Center) being used by others to institute their own adult career guidance programs? The evaluation can be somewhat goal free. Experts in career counseling, program administrators who have adopted a program, and community leaders and service organization staff who have not yet developed a career guidance project could assess the clarity, usefulness, and in some cases, the theoretical accuracy of the contents of the manuals. This product evaluation should be useful to those who want assistance in establishing a program.

3. *Staff Needs, Competencies, and Effectiveness*

a. What are the characteristics of adults who manage (conduct) guidance programs and serve as counselors? Are adults with specific personality traits and demographic characteristics uniquely effective in working with other adults with specific characteristics? For example, do the age, sex, socioeconomic status, intelligence level, or interest pattern of the client and the counselor interact in any significant way? Does a professional male seeking a career change relate to a counselor in the same way as a young housewife who wishes to be employed for the first time in her life?

b. Do staff experience conflicts between responsibilities of developing computer-based information systems and responsibilities of devising programs that involve group self-help activities rather than counseling individual clients? Where are the main conflicts?

If the focus of the counseling is self-directed, what role do the counselors or paraprofessionals play? How do counselors react to a self-directed process? Do they desire more personal intervention and social interaction? Can they feel as comfortable and satisfied being managers of an environment, or organizers of information, and helpers only when requested? What types of persons would find this job most

satisfying and rewarding and what types prefer to engage in personal interactions?

c. What training methods have proved useful for paraprofessionals?

In many programs the counselors are paraprofessionals who receive an intensive but short-term training program in counseling. Alternative methods to select and train counselors have been used, such as, Systematic Human Relations Training (Waters et al. 1976). Given the importance of the paraprofessional in this field, more evaluation of the relative importance of personality characteristics (for selection) and training strategies for effective counselor behavior would be useful.

4. *Influence and Impact of Services on Individual Participants, Communities, Institutions, and Society*

a. What criteria and performance measures are used in the evaluation? When a participant receives some adult career counseling, many criteria can be used to judge the relative success of the experience. Some of the criteria are: participant satisfaction with the career decision made, and its realism and improved decision-making skill of the participant; possible unintended harmful consequenes; vocational career maturity; and expenditure of time and resources. Each of these criteria could be used as a basis for making the provider of the services accountable to the client, the public, and/or professionals, depending somewhat upon who is supporting the services and the values in the community where the services are available. The important issues are credibility and appropriateness of the various measures, whether they are product or process. Because of the nature of the counseling process and the inability to prescribe a priori a single criterion of effectiveness, a multidimensional approach to assessing effectiveness seems most defensible. Each audience will have its own criteria and standards; however, the particpant perspective should be given primary consideration. Indirect and catalytic effects are more difficult to measure, but they should not be ignored. Heffernan et al. (1976) gives an excellent summary of the variety of performance measures and indicators that can be used to assess the program impact on the individual participant and on institutions. They stress the importance of qualitative data and point to some catalytic institutional effects such as establishment of a consortium, increased awareness, and closer working relationships among agencies.

b. What is the cost effectiveness both locally and nationally of expenditures and investments of time and resources to prepare materials for computer programs? What is the transportability of locally constructed exercises, information systems, and library structures? Because of the costs involved in developing computer based systems, feasibility studies of cost sharing and transportability of services are essential.

c. What measures and activities (processes) are being used to identify vocational interests, personal values, and career maturity of adults?

Measures now developed have been used for counseling and validation purposes. If the measures and activities are used by participants as part of counseling, the following questions are worth pursuing: Do the participants see the relevancy of the instruments, scale scores, and measures they use? How difficult is the assigned task in identifying these areas? Is too much jargon being used? For example, can adults write down seven occupations they are interested in or describe their most meaningful experiences? Are these assignments threatening to their self-confidence? In sum, do the measures and activities have any face validity, a requisite for credibility? If measures of vocational interest, maturity, and development are used to assess changes due to counseling, then these instruments also need to be valid for those counseled. Both construct and political validity need to be investigated, i.e., what is an instrument measuring? What is the political and policy significance of participant changes in the measures from pre- to post-counseling? For example, what are the relative expenditures of counseling and guidance that produce a one-, two-, or three-point change on a measure of career maturity?

5. *Integration of Evaluation into the Management and Implication of the Services*

a. Are the agency policies included in the evaluation? Who is influencing the direction of the services? How are conflicts negotiated? Which audiences (consumers) are influential? More attention needs to be given to the political genesis of a program, its support base, its pressure group influence, and its ability to be adapative (Wergin 1976). Adult guidance programs seem particularly vulnerable in their early stages. Evaluation efforts should be directed toward understanding the role of evaluation within the local community. Unlike the elementary school, the participants are both adults and volunteers.

b. What type of structural and organizational evaluation arrangements are now being used? Is the evaluation viewed as a formal activity conducted by some external agency whose primary task is to judge quality or is the evaluation intricately intertwined with program planning and development?

If a number of different arrangements can be identified, then some evaluation of the evaluation impact would prove useful to program administrators and evaluators. Given the number of possible programs and the necessity for evaluation brought about by funding requirements and/or need to demonstrate accountability to the community, a systematic metaevaluation, the following issues seem especially relevant:

(1) What is the cost of the evaluation efforts in terms of consulting fees, time required of program administrators, program staff, and participants?

(2) What is the formal organization arrangement between the evaluator and program administrator?

(3) What is the informal association between the program administrator(s) and evaluator? What are the role (status) and credibility of each within the community and the profession? What pressures can be exerted and what control over the dissemination and use of the evaluative information is present?

(4) What types of disruption do program managers and other significant audiences perceive to be a result of evaluation? From their perspective, what is their estimate of the value of the evaluation?

(5) What changes in the program can be documented that are associated with (or possibly even the result of) program evaluation activities?

c. What is the relationship between budgeting and evaluation? If an information system is developed, what is included in it? What cost information is provided?

d. For whom is the evaluation information collected? Is it for participants, staff, other agencies, or funding sources? What information needs to be collected and aggregated for these different audiences?

e. Are different types of evaluation information collected at different phases of the counseling process?

6. *Utilization of Evaluative Information to Improve Services and to Demonstrate Accountability*

a. In the management of services, what information is being used by the staff?

If data are being collected on demographic characteristics and work and educational experiences, how are counselors using this information to deliver services? Are services being prescribed? If so, what is the success of matching treatment with participant needs, or is this somewhat speculative at this time as suggested by Holland and Gottfredson (1976)?

b. What evaluation data and information do the various audiences view as credible and useful?

The utilization of evaluation results has received considerable attention, but little empirical evidence is available to cast light on how to optimize the influence of evaluative information on policy making. A number of paradigms have been proposed to investigate resistance to recommended changes or to recommend how to communicate and disseminate information:

(1) the "power-context" paradigm, which is centered around the relative status of the evaluator and client (Bonoma 1977)

(2) the "who says what how to whom with what effects" used in persuasion research (Braskamp, Brown, and Newman, in press)

(3) a scheme by Ball and Anderson (1977) that incorporates ten communication forms and fourteen potential audiences

Underlying all of these paradigms are the assumptions that not enough evaluation has been used and that we need to develop better strategies for getting program administrators to more completely integrate the data into their decision making. Most argue that utilization is enhanced if the evaluator becomes involved in the administration and management of the program.

c. What are the problems of maintaining confidentiality and trust of the participants and staff when evaluation information is distributed to other publics for accountability purposes?

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